Workers Of The World, Unite!

THE MILITANT

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When Is The Time For A Labor Party?

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DRAFT STRIKERS, TRUMAN SAYS IN CASE BILL VETO

Wall St. Keeps Atomic Control In Baruch 'Plan'

$500,000,000 Atomic Bomb Demonstration Is Maneuver In Imperialist Drive Toward War

On the chessboard of preparations for World War III, Wall Street last week developed a ruthless power play against the Soviet Union. As Secretary of State Byrnes flew to Paris for the third meeting of the Foreign Ministers, Washington backed him with a carefully timed report by Bernard M. Baruch "recommending" control of atomic energy by the United Nations Organization.

At the same time, in the far Pacific, the mightiest Navy in the world proceeded with its spectacular atomic bomb demonstration.

DIABOLICAL SKILL

Washington thus timed its power play with diabolical cleverness. The Paris conference table at which Byrnes sits will be lighted up by the frightful glare of the atomic bomb explosion at Bikini. This explosion will underline in terms no one can mistake, the program proposed by Baruch to the UN.

Baruch's program is simply a threat by Wall Street to turn loose the colossally destructive force of atomic warfare unless the other powers — the Soviet Union in particular—make major concessions to Wall Street. The Bikini "experiment" is nothing but a calculated step in the drive of America's 60 ruling families for domination of the entire earth.

The Wall Street press headlined Baruch's June 14 report to the UN Atomic Energy Commission as a major concession on the part of Washington. The Wall Street press pic-

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Capitalist Press Wants Draft Law Made Permanent

America's 60 ruling families have opened up their heaviest editorial guns to make militarism on the Prussian pattern a permanent part of American life. Wall Street hopes this propaganda barrage will cut down public anger at the Congressmen now pushing the bill to continue Selective Service. This bill at present is in conference between the Senate and the House.

The **N. Y. Times**, authoritative organ of Big Business, is leading this campaign. A June 11 editorial flatly calls for a "permanent military establishment." The **Times** wants the United States organized into a vast military camp to "provide weight behind America's diplomatic efforts . . ." The final objective, of course, is to plunge humanity into the Third World War.

The **Times** uses arguments that might have been taken out of Hitler's book **Mein Kampf** or the Japanese Mikado's plans of world conquest. "There is nothing so dangerous," says the **Times**, "as pretentions to greatness without the means to support it." Wall Streets wants troops so that this "greatness" can be kept out of the sphere of "pretensions" and exercised as a harsh reality.

Wall Street's plan to dominate the earth calls for keeping American soldiers overseas indefinitely. The Truman Administration does not have the slightest intention of withdrawing the troops. The **Times** editors brazenly admit as much: The "United States," they affirm, ". . . has obligated itself to keep occupation troops abroad for an indeterminate period . . ."

That, they maintain, is another argument for permanently militarizing America.

Senate OPA Bill Is Go-Ahead For Big Price Rises

By Ruth Johnson

The Senate on June 13 voted full steam ahead for the Big Business drive for still higher prices. By 53 to 11, it passed an OPA extension bill which would wipe out all restrictions on prices of meat, poultry, dairy products, tobacco and petroleum after June 30, and raise prices on almost all other goods. This bill also weakens the OPA's already feeble powers of price ceiling regulation and enforcement.

The Senate action further underlines the need for American labor to demand a sliding scale of wages in union contracts, providing for an automatic wage increase to meet every rise in the cost of living.

According to the government's own figures, prices under the OPA have risen 50 per cent above prewar levels. Actually, the increase is much greater. Now, however, the stratosphere's to be the limit.

A three-man board will be given power to end price ceilings at the appeal of any manufac-

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Ship Strike Called Off; Gains Granted

Murray Intervenes Against CIO Walkout

(Special to The Militant)

NEW YORK, June 16—Faced with the threat of all-out government strikebreaking and pressured by CIO President Philip Murray to accept limited gains, the leaders of the CIO Committee for Maritime Unity called off the national maritime strike scheduled for June 15.

They agreed to settle after the government offered concessions to seamen of a $17.50 monthly wage increase and overtime payment for Sunday at sea. For west coast longshoremen, they accepted a twice-rejected offer, made first by the employers and later by a "fact-finding" board, of a 22-cent an hour increase, bringing their hourly rates to $1.37.

The important concessions to the seamen were wrested from the government only by the clearly-shown determination of the CIO maritime workers to fight, and by the widespread support from organized labor. Decisive in softening up the government's hard-boiled attitude was the warning from AFL marine unions that they would fight government strikebreaking.

Even before the union memberships were officially notified of the settlement and at the very moment when seamen were meeting to begin strike action, capitalist press reporters were told by War Shipping Administrator Granville Conway that "an agreement had been signed and sealed."

TERMS OF AGREEMENT

The terms of the agreement were:

1.—For seamen — a $17.50 monthly increase, making the basic scale $162.50, retroactive to April 1; the 56-hour week at

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Senate Breaks 'Wage Pattern'—For Senators!

The Senate has decided Congress deserves a pay boost—apparently for its hard work in keeping down the wages of the working class in the face of skyrocketing prices.

On June 10 these political agents of Wall Street by a vote of 49 to 16 passed Senate Bill 2177, which if confirmed by the House, would give every Congressman a flat raise of 50 per cent. This would jump present salaries from $10,000 to $15,000.

In addition, these guardians of the public treasury voted themselves each an $8,000 "administrative assistant." Such jobs are customarily kept within Congressmen's families.

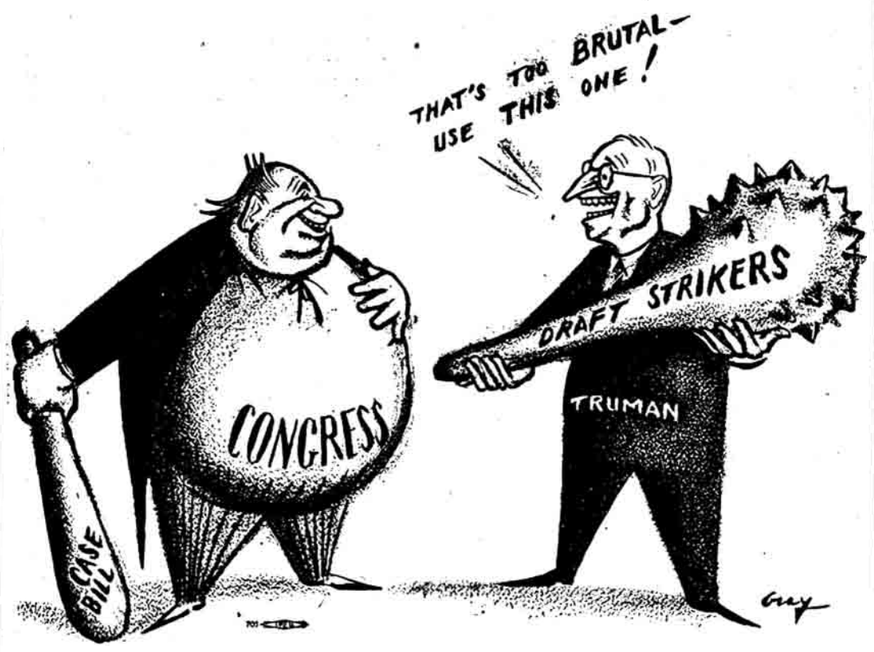
LUSH PENSIONS

While they were diverting public funds into their own pockets, the Senators decided to make it really good. They voted themselves a "health and welfare fund" in the form of pensions—and what pensions!

A Senator like Barkley, for instance, can pay in $2,674 and retire with a government check of $6,538 guaranteed him each year for the rest of his life. Even a one-term Senator is assured a yearly check of $1,465 in his old age.

These pensions would be paid the Congressmen no matter how well off they might be. Many of them are already exceedingly wealthy men. Others, as Senator Barkley admitted, on defeat or retirement have obtained "jobs which paid them $25,000 or $40,000 or $50,000 a year."

Choice Of Weapons



31 Tennessee Atrocity Victims Face Frame-Up In White Court

By Evelun Atwood

Thirty-one hand-picked Negro victims of Tennessee's white ruling class have been standing trial since May 28 in Maury County courthouse, Columbia, Tenn., on a frame-up charge of "attempt to commit murder."

This is the second phase of a campaign of mass terrorism and murder launched against the segregated Negro community of Columbia last February. State troops, coming to the aid of a white lynch mob, blasted Negro homes and businesses with machine guns, shot and injured scores, invaded and ransacked homes, and drove the helpless Negro population into the streets. They mercilessly clubbed men, women and children, jailed more than a hundred and lynched two men in jail.

This mass trial is designed to strike further terror into the hearts of the Negro residents of Tennessee. It coincides with the intensified efforts of the Southern employers to use Jim Crow as a weapon against the organizing campaigns of the CIO and AFL.

The trial is taking place in a Jim Crow courtroom where no Negro has ever served on a jury. Defense attorneys, provided by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, are introducing evidence proving that Jim Crow prejudice is so widespread that it is virtually impossible to secure a jury that would give the Negro defendants a fair trial.

Will Voorhies, 72-year-old Negro farmer, 217th defense witness to testify in the first two weeks, and who himself fought off being lynched in February, declared in the courtroom:

"I attended trials for more than 35 years in this courtroom. I worked for Will Toller, a white lawyer . . . During that 35 years I never saw a Negro drawn for jury service." When the assistant State's Attorney tried to intimidate him, Voorhies, shaking his finger at the prosecutor, courageously reiterated: "There ain't been no colored person on a jury here for the past 50 years!"

Defense attorneys attempted to show that even where the law formally does not exclude Negroes from jury duty, social custom and official sanction does. But Maury County Judge Joe M. Ingram sought to exclude such testimony by declaring: "We can't get afield here on social customs and practices. We are more concerned if a legal right is violated."

Already vigilante threats of violence, official and unofficial, are rampant against those who are defending the indicted Negro citizens. The atmosphere is ominous wtih mounting racehate and hints of further bloodshed. Even the chief defense counsel for the 31 Negroes, Z. Alexander Looby, finds it pru-

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"Militant" Fund Drive Passes $15,000 Quota

Another milestone in the forward march of the American Trotskyist movement was reached on June 15 with the successful conclusion of the three-month $15,000 **Militant** Sustaining Fund campaign.

Through the combined efforts of devoted readers of **The Militant**, comrades and friends of the Socialist Workers Party, we "Rang the Bell!" The grand total amounted to $15,398.17.

The scoreboard, printed on page 6, shows that virtually every branch of the Socialist Workers Party achieved 100 per cent of its quota. One third of the branches oversubscribed their quotas! Week after week during the campaign, the branches sent in $1,000 or more, thus ensuring the successful outcome of the campaign. These figures express the tenacity, devotion, energy and enthusiasm of **The Militant's** supporters.

See Complete Details On Page 6

The Militant began its national campaign on March 15 with an appeal for financial contributions to help maintain the paper which has played a vital role in the daily lives and struggles of the American workers.

Our readers not only responded with donations of their own, but collected other donations from friends and shopmates, through the Collection Lists issued by the **Militant** business office. Over $760 was received from our readers.

IN THE NEWS

It Pays To Organize

Two months ago the 280 servants in the English royal household—coachmen, footmen, valets and cooks at Windsor Palace, Buckingham Palace and Marlborough House — joined Branch No. 145 of the Civil Service Union. On June 6 it was announced in London they had won wage increases up to 30 shillings (about $6) a week, retroactive to last October.

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Political Failure, Social Success

"Although the Security Council of the United Nations in session in New York has failed to make any progress toward solving any of the world international problems, the meeting has been a success as the greatest international social whirl in history. Drinking (and choice liquors that Americans cannot get), dining and dancing seem to constitute a regular routine. In one day, dinners were given to the delegates by such society leaders as Mrs. Cornelia Vanderbilt, Mrs. George Widener, Mrs. Ogden Mills, Mrs. Harold Pratt and Mrs. Phipps Farrell, all names which spell the blue blood ownership of railroads, Standard Oil, copper and steel . . . " **(United Mine Workers Journal**, June 1.)

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Can't Call Rate S . . . s

"CINCINNATI — Scabbing is an obscene word, Cincinnati police ruled as they grabbed a picket sign away from a World War II veteran." **(Federated Press.)**

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Capitalism's Only Program For Peace

Admitting no progress in diplomatic exchanges for peaceful settlement of disputes between the Big Powers, Secretary of State Byrnes on June 11 answered the question of what is needed now by replying: "I would say more prayer."

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You're Next, Son!

Trygve Lie, Secretary General of the United Nations, on June 10 told reporters in Detroit that no child should be advised that world-wide peace had been made secure beyond "the nearest future."

President Repeats Demand For Own Anti-Labor Scheme

President Truman on June 11 repeated his demand for legislation to draft strikers into the armed forces. This was his main counter-proposal to the terms of the Case Union-Busting Bill, which he vetoed under the insistent pressure of organized labor. The House fell only five votes short of the necessary two-thirds majority to override his veto.

In vetoing the Case bill, Truman was acting largely from political expediency. He hoped thereby to patch up his reputation as a liberal and "friend of labor"—a reputation slashed to bits by his record of post-war strikebreaking. At the same time, he withheld his veto to the last minute, using the threat of the Case Bill as an additional black-mail weapon to force CIO acceptance of the government's terms in the maritime crisis.

Truman's statement to Congress tries to cover up his own anti-labor record and program by criticizing certain sections of the Case Bill as "inequitable" to labor. He adds a veneer of demagogy in the form of demands for certain social legislation to which he has paid lip-service in the past, but for which he has put up not the shadow of a real fight.

DANGER NOT PAST

Veto of the Case Bill does not eliminate the danger of anti-union laws. At best, it provides only a very brief breathing spell to labor. Democratic and Republican congressmen alike, as well as Truman, are in agreement about imposing legislative restraints on the unions. They differ only on details and method.

The campaign for united labor action, initiated by the CIO United Auto Workers proposal for a national united labor conference of all unions, must not be slowed down. On the contrary, it must be speeded up.

Every local union, CIO, AFL and Railroad Brotherhoods, should insist on the calling of such a conference in the shortest possible time. It is imperative that labor prepare at once for united action to meet the intensified anti-labor campaign that is surely coming.

Michigan CIO Discusses Need For Labor Party

(Special to The Militant)

DETROIT, June 13—More than 800 delegates, representing 600,000 Michigan CIO workers, met here at the Masonic Temple, June 10-13, for their eighth annual state CIO convention.

Their most important action was adoption of a resolution on independent political action which called for "full support of the formation of a new political party comprising all sections of the labor movement, the AFL, CIO and Railroad Brotherhoods, and independent unions, working farmers, professional workers, consumers, members of minority, racial and religious groups, and all people advocating a progressive and liberal program."

However, except in the field of political education, no organizational steps were taken for the launching of a labor party. The effectiveness of the resolution was further reduced by reference to it as a "long-run program," in the meantime calling for the "endorsement and support of liberal and progressive candidates of the existing parties during this election year."

OPEN SECRET

It was an open secret that even this milk-and-water resolution was opposed by the CIO and United Auto Workers top officials, as well as by the leading figures of both the Walter Reuther and George Addes-Stalinist caucuses. Only extreme pressure from the ranks and the fear that a much stronger resolution would be passed forced the top leaders to agree to this compromise proposal. But they hope they can bury it im-

(Continued on Page 2)

ST. LOUIS UNION LEADERS URGE UNITED CONFERENCE

(Special to The Militant)

ST. LOUIS, June 7—A joint emergency meeting of 60 local officials of AFL, CIO and Railroad Brotherhood unions at the Hotel DeSota yesterday afternoon unanimously adopted a program for united labor action which urged that "the leaders of American labor of all branches convene a United National Emergency Conference of Labor to bring about the unity of the workers of America against the rising tide of reaction."

This proposal was one of four included in a statement introduced by E. P. Delworth, General Chairman of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers in this area, and C. J. Jenkins, General Chairman of the local Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, who issued the call for yesterday's joint meeting.

COMMITTEE SET UP

The statement, which the meeting adopted, provided for the sending of a "representative committee of this conference" of the local union officials to Washington to put pressure on Congressmen to vote against the anti-labor bills being pushed by Truman and Congress.

It also provided for continuing the local unity campaign through a mass rally of all the unions here.

A committee of 25 was set up by the local conference instructed to carry out the program proposed in the adopted statement.

The statement termed the anti-labor bills before Congress "legislation designed to place American labor at the mercy of profiteering corporations and to establish the Government as an official strike-breaking agency to force American workers to submit to corporate exploitation."

Next Week:
A SHORT STORY
by
Theodore Kovalesky

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U. S. Non-Intervention Pledge Violated In China Civil War

By Li Fu-jen

Brazenly violating repeated promises to refrain from military intervention in China and to withdraw its armed forces from that country, the United States government is using its armed might on a continually growing scale to support the reactionary regime of the Kuomintang in the civil war that is now raging in Manchuria and in China proper.

Chiang Kai-shek's armies, the forces of landlord-capitalist reaction, are engaged in large-scale operations against Stalinist-led troops. According to a June 5 radio broadcast from the Stalinist headquarters at Yenan, the United States is participating actively in this struggle by continuing to equip, train and transport Chiang's troops. What is occurring is full-scale American intervention in the Chinese civil war short of actual participation in the fighting by American soldiers.

TRANSPORT TROOPS

Since the conclusion of the war with Japan last August, the Yenan radio charged, the United States has equipped and trained 40 mechanized divisions for the Kuomintang. This is in addition to 20 full divisions equipped and trained by U. S. officers during the period of the war.

Furthermore, U. S. Army transport planes and U. S. naval ships have been freely placed at Chiang's disposal for the transport of Kuomintang troops to the civil war zones in North China and Manchuria. Without this aid it would have been impossible for Chiang to have taken over most of North China, and the principal cities of Manchuria, from the Japanese.

A pledge to withdraw American troops from China was made by the United States last December in the communique issued at Moscow by the conference of the "Big Three" foreign ministers. President Truman followed this up with a public pledge on Dec. 15, stating that America would not seek to influence the course of events in China by military intervention.

This "hands off" policy has been repeatedly and cynically violated while further statements pledging non-intervention were being made. On April 1, Lt.-Gen. Albert C. Wedemeyer, American commander in the

(Continued on Page 3)

What Do You Say?

Question: Do you think the draft should be continued?

Place: Newark, New Jersey.

• • •

Mrs. Edward Mulligan, housewife.

The war is over. They should discontinue it. Let's forget about it for a while. My husband was away for three years.

• • •

Peter Kominek, electroplater, 185-19th Ave., Irvington.

The draft should be continued for the benefit of all young men who can't afford a college education. The army is their best way of learning what they need to make life successful. As for the draft, yes, but for this reason only. To me the draft does not mean war, but educational training.

• • •

Joe Stickney, union member, 335 Bergen St.

No, I don't think it should be continued. Large armies lead to war. A standing army will not preserve the peace. Let's not set a bad example to the world.

• • •

Stanley Chort, 248 Ellis Ave., Irvington.

I definitely am opposed to the draft being continued. The only reason I can see for having a big army is for war against Russia. I think Russia's ideas are founded along socialist lines, and agree with them, and am opposed to a war against Russia.

• • •

Mrs. Dorothy Banks, housewife, 280 Halstead St., East Orange.

Many young boys are not working and military training would keep them off the streets and out of mischief and would be good for them. But I don't think they should be sent out of the country.

• • •

Frank Pavarino, 713 S. 16th St.

No. The war is over and we will not have another so soon. Armies do not mean peace.

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Peter Venturi, veteran, 298 Camden St.

I am against the draft. It will make soldiers out of too many people. It should not be applied, particularly, to men who have already been in service, nor to men who are too old to be soldiers anyway.

• • •

Leonard Szczepura, chairman PAC committee, U. E. Local 437, 115 Lillie St.

Yes. It's good for the young boys to learn something. When they come back, they know what's up in the world.

• • •

Louis Di Benedetto, veteran, 320 Camden St.

No. I am against the drafting of men from 18 to 45, because it takes in too big a percentage of the population. If any should be drafted, it should be from those age brackets below 30. Also, no former soldier should be drafted into the army again. And I am against the draft as such, anyway, as soon as international conditions permit.

• • •

Sam Giorn, carpenter, 14 Jacob St.

No, I am against the draft. The draft will make a big army as they had big armies in Europe. And big armies make war.

READ

Fourth International

WHEN IS THE TIME TO BUILD A LABOR PARTY -- IF NOT NOW?

By George Clarke

"Yes, it is true that labor needs its own party, but it is still too early to form it."

This argument comes from trade union leaders who are now compelled to recognize that the workers have been driven into a blind alley by capitalist politics. It is their last stand against the growing demand for the creation of a labor party.

"Practical" as this argument may appear at first glance, one thing it is not: it is not new. Almost as long as there has been a labor movement in the United States, there have been champions of the labor party in the trade unions. And for almost the same length of time bureaucrats have opposed the labor party with the argument: "Now is not the time."

Prior to the organization of the CIO they said it was premature to form a labor party because the trade unions were too weak. Only the skilled workers enjoyed union protection; in the mass production industries company unions and the open shop prevailed. The main task was the organization of the unorganized. But this task itself was made more difficult because the state and national legislatures controlled by the capitalist parties gave legal protection to company unions, company spies and strikebreakers breaking strikes with injunction laws, state troops and deputized thugs.

Always "Too Soon"

After the great CIO drive which swept steel, auto, rubber, glass, aluminum, packinghouse into the union ranks, it became patently ridiculous to speak of the "weakness" of the labor movement. Now it was too soon to form labor's own party because a "great friend of labor" had moved into the White House and had brought with him into Congress and the state capitals many other "friends" from the Democratic Party. According to the myth, so carefully built up by union bureaucrats and Stalinist bureaucrats, Roosevelt virtually organized the CIO singlehanded and all of the concessions and pro-labor legislation won in this period were handed to the workers on a silver platter by the man in the White House. It is difficult to argue against a myth. Nevertheless the facts are clear.

Wherever the workers won, the victory was due to their own strength and their own militancy. Wherever they lost, they could thank the "friends of labor" upon whom they relied. The "Little Steel" strike was broken in 1937 by Democratic governors elected by CIO votes in Pennsylvania, Ohio and Illinois. When Roosevelt was asked to speak out against the use of the National Guard, he belted the steelworkers in the face with his infamous declaration: "A plague on both your houses."

Despite these sharp lessons, Murray, Hillman and the Stalinists continued to hold the halo over Roosevelt's head. Naturally, a labor party would be premature as long as a saint sat in the President's chair. The facts, however, are different. Although with diminishing enthusiasm the workers continued to follow Roosevelt until his death, they had meanwhile turned their backs on the Democratic Party. Not all the artful demagogy of Roosevelt could make the party of the Wall Street gang, the big city bosses, and the poll tax Congressmen attractive again for the organized workers.

"Non-Partisan League"

To elect Roosevelt, the trade union leaders were compelled to organize the workers into a separate political body: Labor's Non-Partisan League in 1936 and the Political Action Committee of the CIO thereafter. In form both of these organizations were labor parties: they were delegated bodies representing the various CIO unions and membership organizations consisting of workers and their families. But in aim and program they were not labor parties at all.

Although LNPL and PAC drafted their own programs they had no means of demanding action since the Democratic politicians, guaranteed support in advance, felt free to act as they pleased—rather as Wall Street pleased. The best LNPL and PAC could hope for was a few crumbs. A few crumbs for the millions of votes that decided every major election since 1936! Not only was the time ripe for a labor party but without organizing the workers independently; without bartering the combined millions of union votes, without betraying the deepest aspirations and interests, the Democratic administrations in Washington for the past 10 years would have been impossible.

The crowning argument of those who keep postponing the labor party to some time that never comes is the theory of the "lesser evil." It is true, the more honest admit, that Roosevelt was becoming less friendly to labor all the time. But what was the alternative? If the trade unions ran their own candidates they would split the Democratic vote and a Republican like Landon, Willkie or Dewey would be elected. And to make the bogeyman even more terrifying they never fail to recall the odious memory of Herbert Hoover.

But one little fact punctures this argument completely: there were less than three million organized workers during Hoover's administration. He could slug the workers' movement without fear of counter-action or reprisal. Today any president must count with the largest, the most conscious and the most powerful trade union organization in history. There is no way, short of establishing an outright dictatorship that would permit even the most reactionary President to ignore this formidable, organized power.

What Counts Is Power

Now suppose for a moment that to the organized economic power of the trade unions there is joined the organized political power of the labor party; suppose that the labor party in its first presidential election polls only one-third of the popular vote—12,000,000; suppose that the labor party wins one-third of the seats in the Senate and the House of Representatives and an equal number in the state legislatures. (This is not at all far-fetched; if anything it is an understatement of the electoral power of the union members, their families, friends and supporters they will receive from all the nation's poor.) Can anyone conceive of a Republican President and a Republican House acting in the style prescribed by Hoover under such conditions?

Henry Ford was a friend of Hitler and he acted like Hitler to the auto workers until they shut down River Rouge and made him sign a union contract. What counts in politics as it does in union business is NOT promises, gratitude or good will—what counts is power. Weakness permits "progressives" to act like reactionaries. Strength makes reactionaries pause many times before they yield to their natural impulses.

When indeed will the time be ripe for the formation of a labor party? This question the slippery-tongued gentlemen always evade. We need not wait any longer for their evasions and ambiguities, for their procrastination and delays. We have seen how they postponed, blocked and sabotaged the labor party through the depression, then through the days of the great rise of the CIO, then through the war, and now in the midst of the gigantic postwar struggles they are still not ready.

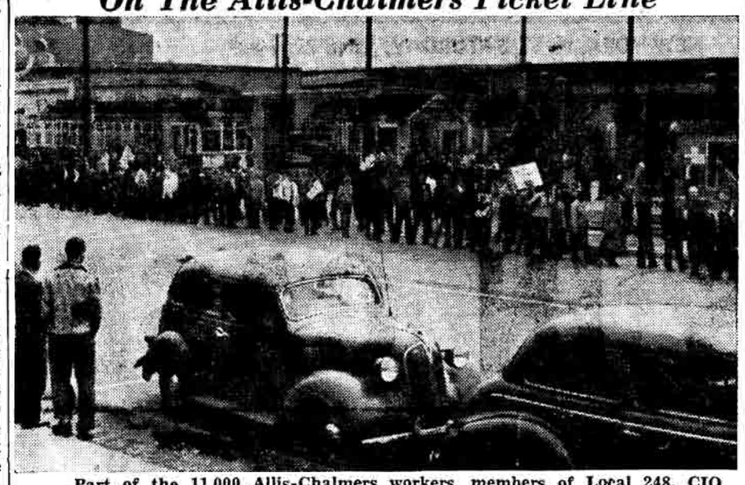
But the enemy is not waiting. Acting through its lackeys in Washington, the fist of Wall Street is crashing down on the working population: the FEPC is slaughtered; the open sky is fast becoming the ceiling on prices; fact-finding boards cut the wage demands of striking workers; plants, mines, railroads, entire industries are seized by the government to force the workers into unequal battle with the state instead of individual employers; now Truman is preparing to go into the strikebreaking business in a big way by using the army, navy and coast guard to smash the projected maritime strike; meanwhile Truman and Congress are vying with each other to see who can place the worst labor-crippling laws into the statute-books.

Shall we wait, politically paralyzed, politically disarmed, politically impotent until organized labor is bound and gagged? Shall we wait until the unions are beaten, defeated and cut to pieces, robbed of their treasuries, persecuted by capitalist courts and capitalist laws, tied hand and foot by arbitration, crushed by armed forces? Shall we wait until Wall Street brings down the iron heel of military dictatorship?

The time for waiting is over. The time for action is now. The Labor Party must be organized immediately. The unions stand at the peak of their strength. They represent a formidable power. The workers have emerged from every strike undefeated—every strike but the railroad strike. And there the setback has torn the blinkers off the eyes of the entire working class population. It is alert, militant and eager to repel the attack of labor's enemies.

Great victories are possible—on one condition: the knot must be untied that binds the political arm of labor. The independent political party of the working class and the poor farmers—the labor party—must be built now!

On The Allis-Chalmers Picket Line



Part of the 11,000 Allis-Chalmers workers, members of Local 248, CIO United Auto Workers, who have been fighting more than seven weeks on the picket lines against the union-busting corporation in Milwaukee. The company refuses to negotiate issues involving working conditions and union security. 7,000 are also on strike at other Allis-Chalmers plants.

Senate OPA Bill Is Go-Ahead For Big Price Rises

(Continued from Page 1)

turer, wholesaler, middleman or retailer. Agricultural prices will be put entirely into the hands of the Secretary of Agriculture, a representative of the meat packing interests. All controls over non-agricultural goods are to be removed as soon as "supply balances demand" — a point which the monopolists can always arbitrarily fix for their own benefit.

And this is just a beginning of the Senate's attack on price regulation. Government subsidies on foods will be cut in half, the difference to be made up to the food speculators by further hikes in prices. The OPA's "maximum average price" plan under which some cheaper work clothes, etc., were produced, will be annihilated. Cotton textile manufacturers are handed an immediate five-per cent increase, on top of increases already granted.

To make sure that no profiteers fail to reap a bumper harvest from the new bill, a clause compels the OPA to guarantee the tremendous 1941 wartime profits to every manufacturer, wholesaler, middleman and retailer on every single item!

NO ENFORCEMENT

The Senate even takes care of those who may violate this worthless "price control" bill. The OPA is deprived of all power to enforce its rulings. Consent of the United States District Attorney must be obtained before a violator can even be cited for prosecution!

The Senate bill is in basic agreement with that passed earlier by the House of Representatives. The House bill, however, would preserve the fiction of an OPA for only nine months, as against the Senate's one-year

Various labor and liberal leaders are appealing to Truman to veto the openly inflationary Senate measure. This would mean merely that the OPA would go out of business altogether on June 30, thus removing even the present pretence of government price control. If Truman should veto the Senate-sponsored bill, it would be largely because the administration wants to avoid the appearance of direct responsibility for the runaway inflation which the measure encourages.

Whether the Senate bill is enacted in its present form, modified a trifle, or vetoed, the workers face the same stark reality. Wall Street's government is intent on dealing deep, hidden wage-cuts to labor through tremendous price rises which slash the amount of food, clothing and other necessities the workers' dollars can buy.

The only immediate effective method of fighting for a decent living standard and against the inflationary theft of real wages is: demand a sliding scale of wages to meet every rise in the cost of living.

Flint Buick 599 Paper Calls For A Labor Party

(Special to The Militant)

FLINT, Mich., June 6.—The **Local 599 Headlight,** organ of the large CIO United Auto Workers Buick Local 599, in its June 4 issue publishes a hard-hitting editorial appeal for the convening of a national united conference of labor and the building of a labor party.

Local 599, which has stood in the forefront of the struggles of the General Motors workers and is one of the UAW locals which first took the lead in advocating a national labor congress and a labor party, states in its paper:

"Now Truman in effect says no. He proposes that Labor be drafted if they refuse to work. No attempt to draft intelligent legislation to get at the root of the trouble. Compel Labor to work. That solves everything for the time being . . . It solves their (the corporations') immediate problems. Enables them to make huge profits. And all the time fascism is getting a stranglehold.

"What is the solution? Labor must organize its forces and fight its own battle. Conferences as proposed by Phil Murray and Walter Reuther are a logical first step. Plans on political action and other forms of action can be formulated at these conferences. Local 599 proposed such a conference months ago through the medium of a resolution.

"Is the PAC the answer? Not if they continue their policy of endorsing the lesser of two evils, as they have so many times in the past. Truman is the product of such an endorsement. . . .

"A LABOR PARTY IS THE ANSWER. All labor can unite on such a program. Labor might not elect a president and congress the first election, but they would be headed in the right direction."

TRADE UNION NOTES

By Art Preis

Anthracite Bosses Fold Up in 9 Days

After stalling for nine days, just long enough to give the 76,000 striking anthracite coal miners in Pennsylvania a well-deserved vacation, the hard-coal operators conceded the major social and wage demands of the AFL United Mine Workers. An agreement was reached on June 7.

This agreement includes not only an 18½-cent hourly wage increase, with time and a half after 35 hours a week and seven hours a day, but welfare and safety concessions similar to those previously won in the bitter strike of the 400,000 soft coal miners.

The contract includes an operator-financed health and welfare fund of five cents on each ton of coal produced, expected to amount to about $2,500,000 annually. The control of the fund is vested in a three-man committee, two from the union, and one from the operators. This is an even better agreement than secured by the soft coal miners, whose fund committee consists of one each from the union and operators, and a third jointly acceptable to both.

By their successful struggle for far-reaching social, as well as wage, demands, the miners have set an example for the rest of labor to follow in the battles ahead.

• • •

Whitney's Plea To Truman And Congress

If a man bumps his head against a stone wall once, it's probably an accident; twice, it may still be an accident; a hundred times, and he's just a damn fool.

That's the thought that comes to mind in reading the big advertisements by A. F. Whitney, head of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, published in metropolitan newspapers last week. Headed, "Strikes Can Be Prevented," the ads contain a plea by Whitney for Truman and Congress to "stay on the job" and "prevent strikes" by "action to remedy the conditions which cause American workers to strike."

"A President and Congress wanting workers to 'stay on the job' must themselves get on the job. The Congress must not be allowed to adjourn without taking positive steps to eliminate the causes of strikes," says Whitney.

No decentminded person can possibly oppose social legislation to better the conditions of the American workers. But to direct a plea to THIS Congress to "stay on the job" in the interests of labor is like banging your head a hundred times against a stone wall.

Instead of pleading with the Big-Business Congress, Whitney would have done far better to have spent the Trainmen's money for advertisements calling on the workers to organize a labor party, run labor candidates and boot the whole gang of Wall Street politicians out of Washington. Labor's slogan should be not "Congress Must Stay On The Job," but—KICK OUT WALL STREET'S CONGRESS! ELECT A WORKERS' AND FARMERS' CONGRESS!

• • •

Tobin's Warning On AFL Southern Drive

Daniel Tobin, head of the AFL Teamsters, is finding employer opposition very tough down below the Mason and Dixon Line, where the AFL, like the CIO, is engaged in a big organizing drive.

Hence, his magazine, **The International Teamster,** in its June issue presents a view point quite unique for his publication. In an article entitled, "AFL Starts to Organize the South," Tobin's magazine states:

"Under the pretext of 'saving the South from Communism,' the Ku Klux Klan is preparing to inject itself into the struggle to maintain the open shop. Every union organizer will probably be branded a 'Communist' as the Klan attempts to ride the crest of a wave of patriotic prejudice to organize the South itself and promote the sale of cotton fabrics woven into the hoods and shrouds of its official costume. Thus the southern industrialists will profit both ways. They will keep wages low and sell cotton to the nightshirt cavalry."

We can but welcome Tobin's timely warning against the Southern reactionary red-baiters and the anti-"communist" agitation of the open shoppers. But it is well to keep in mind that Tobin's opposition to red-baiting is still confined to a limited field—and only when it hits him and his organizers over the head.

We are still waiting to hear from Tobin any criticism of AFL President William Green and other AFL big-wigs, who launched the AFL Southern drive with a bid to the employers to sign up with the AFL before the "communistic" CIO organizes the workers. The AFL leaders themselves have been lending red-baiting ammunition to the Southern bosses—and the latter are shooting it at the AFL as well as the CIO.

In addition, we would be doing less than our duty if we overlooked Tobin's own record of red-baiting—and specifically his attack on the progressive and militant leadership of Minneapolis Drivers Local 544. Tobin not only conducted an unprecedented red-baiting drive against the Trotskyists and militants, but he collaborated in a conspiracy with Roosevelt to frame-up and imprison 18 Local 544 and Socialist Workers Party leaders during the war.

Red-baiting is indeed a sinister and treacherous weapon. Those who use it within the labor movement only help the bosses. And sometimes, as Tobin has found in the South, are apt to find it may explode in their own faces.

Michigan CIO Delegates Discuss Need For National Labor Party

(Continued from Page 1)

mediately after the convention.

That such an attempt will meet resistance from the workers was indicated during the brief discussion permitted on the resolution. Emil Mazey, UAW-Detroit, East Side Regional Director, expressed the sentiments of the ranks when he said: "This is a timely resolution although I wish it were a firmer one. It is time we built a party of our own. If we had started building a labor party years back we would today not find ourselves in the present mess. We must not only pass this resolution, but we must go out after this convention and do something about it."

DEBATE, SHUT OFF

Ernie Mazey, of UAW Briggs Local 212 and brother of Emil, likewise urged immediate steps for the launching of a labor party. "The action of the House and Senate on the Case Bill and Truman proposal has shown the complete bankruptcy of the past policy of the CIO. Only seven of the 90 Congressmen elected with PAC backing voted against these strikebreaking bills. We are always warned that now is not the time. When is it time? When the labor movement is smashed? I say now is the time. Let us call a conference for this purpose in the next 60 days."

Not a single Stalinist spokesman dared to take a position on the resolution. Debate was shut off on this all-important question after only ten minutes of discussion.

The three-day convention was taken up largely with the factional maneuvers of the two power caucuses. The Stalinists sowed disruption by points of order, points of information and, as one delegate remarked, "points of confusion," keeping the convention in turmoil most of the time. They were aided by the inefficiency and incompetence of the Reutherite forces in charge of convention preparations. The Stalinist antics so disgusted the delegates that these tactics were bitterly assailed even within the Addes-Stalinist caucus meeting after the first day's session.

Much wrangling occurred over the Credentials Committee report on the seating of delegates appointed by various Local Executive Boards. Such delegates were to be found in both caucuses. A constitutional amendment was proposed calling hereafter for election of all delegates.

Here, the Stalinists, who had been the loudest shouters for democracy, showed their true colors. John Anderson, Stalinist president of UAW Local 155, opposed the amendment, whining about the cost of an election in his amalgamated local. To this Lee Romano, president of Press Steel Unit, UAW Ford Local 600, scathingly retorted that election expenses "were a small price for democracy."

This convention reflected the continuation of the sharp factional struggle at the UAW convention three months ago and which has continued unabated in UAW Executive Board meetings. In previous years, the Michigan CIO Convention preceded the UAW Convention and helped clarify some of the issues coming before the auto gathering. This year, the Michigan CIO Convention provided an anti-climax, with all issues subordinated to the factional maneuvers of both camps.

UAW President Walter Reuther told his caucus members that if the opposition continued its divisive tactics he would take the issues to the ranks. He admitted that the Addes-Stalinist forces have now adopted his program and there was even less reason for the factional warfare.

MISSES CHANCE

But Reuther missed the splendid opportunity to place the struggle on a higher plane by embracing the demands and aspirations of the ranks to build a labor party immediately. He spoke of the necessity of calling for a national united labor conference, but failed to implement this request with a resolution. Reuther also warned that labor would have to strike again soon for higher wages since recent wage increases were already largely negated by skyrocketing prices. Yet he said not one word on the issue of an upward sliding scale of wages which would automatically rise with rising prices. Although the Ford Local 600 Council, Briggs Local 212 and Budd Local 306, UAW, had passed resolutions to this effect.

An espousal of the labor party now and the sliding scale of wages would have rallied all the progressive forces at the convention and would have been an effective way to "appeal to the ranks."

Instead, Reuther and his lieutenants, both in convention and caucus meetings, resorted to a sly form of red-baiting, attacking even the progressive proposals of the Stalinists. For instance, Reuther tried to belittle, by innuendo, the appeal of the Stalinist-dominated maritime federation for world-wide support of their anticipated strike.

The Reutherite Gus Scholle was reelected president of the State CIO Council, defeating Glen E. Sigman, assistant regional director of the CIO Steelworkers, by a vote of 2,297 to 1,868. Barney Hopkins was reelected by a similar vote for secretary-treasurer over the Addes-Stalinist candidate W. G. Grant, former president of Ford Local 600.

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St. Paul SWP Opens New Headquarters

ST. PAUL, Minn., June 9 — Friends of the St. Paul branch of the Socialist Workers Party celebrated the opening of new headquarters at 540 Cedar St., at the Housewarming Party here last night.

The headquarters presented a spick - and - span appearance. Crepe paper streamers in spring colors decorated the meeting hall for the dancing, and curtains with "SWP" embroidered in red gave a festive air to the kitchen. An attractive literature stand offered SWP pamphlets, and a lighted window displayed Trotsky's books.

Highlighting the evening was fried chicken, well served. Friends and comrades went home confident that the new headquarters mark a forward step for the St. Paul branch.

Where Is The Soviet Union Going?

The Policy Of The "Strategic Bulwark"

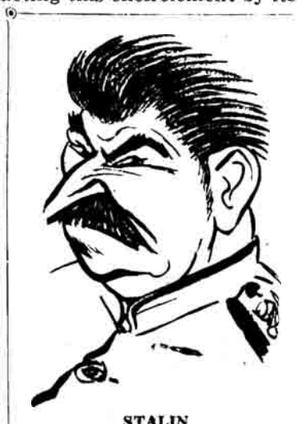
By Ernest Germain

On the morrow of the second world war, the dominant fact concerning the Soviet Union's situation is the imperialist encirclement that is being completed. The bureaucracy is incapable of counteracting this encirclement by its old policy of balancing itself between the powers.

It sees itself forced to elaborate a new system of defense, based neither on revolutionary politics of the proletariat (1917-1924), nor on alliances with certain capitalist countries (1924-1944), but on the progressive conquest of a "strategic bulwark," separating the Soviet frontiers on all sides from the imperialist bases of operation.

The creation of the "strategic bulwark" appeared as the immediate aim of Stalin's foreign policy at the time of the Teheran Conference, that is to say, at a time when Hitler's defeat seemed certain and when the conquerors were discussing **division of the spoils.** In the beginning Stalin attempted to create this bulwark in a "peaceful" way, that is to say, with the consent of his imperialist "allies."

Knowing that the Red Army was bearing the main brunt of the German armies and conscious of the progressive enfeeblement of the USSR in the course of the prolonged warfare, the English and American imperialists postponed their settling of accounts with the bureaucracy until after the war with Germany and Japan. They accorded Stalin, as "spheres of influence" large parts of Europe and Asia: Poland, East Germany, all the Danubian and Balkan countries except Greece, Manchuria and North China.



STALIN

UNDER PRESSURE

But Stalin knew very well that this occupation would be only temporary. At the "Peace Conference" when American imperialism would be forced to redraw the map of the world according to its plans of world domination, the question of evacuation of all these countries would be posed. But the "strategic bulwark" threatens to crumble even before that as a result of the constant pressure of English and American imperialism.

Already this pressure succeeded a year ago in the introduction into all the governments of those countries occupied by the USSR of **representatives of the "native" capitalist class, direct agents of imperialism:** Mikolajczyk in Poland, Tartarescu in Rumania, Geol in Yugoslavia and others. Also the bureaucracy entered upon a series of maneuvers aiming at the more or less temporary "stabilization" of its influence in these countries by establishing obedient governments.

REACTIONARY METHODS

At the moment when the Red Army entered these countries, broad revolutionary movements appeared. The workers seized the factories and established a network of all-powerful factory committees. The peasants seized the long-coveted land.

But the Soviet bureaucracy which fears the revolution as much as do the world capitalists, far from supporting or consolidating these workers' actions, helped the "native" capitalists all it could to **restore law and order**; either by force (Poland) or by a series of deceitful maneuvers (Czechoslovakia). Moreover, by ruthlessly pillaging these countries already impoverished by the war, by introducing a hateful police regime, the Soviet bureaucracy soon alienated the sympathies of large sections of the working masses who had at first welcomed it as a liberator.

Later, when it was a question for Stalin of establishing a more strict control over the countries in the "strategic bulwark" he no longer received the workers' support in dealing mortal blows to the capitalists of these countries. He was forced to arrive at his goal by vile bargains, by military "coups," by the odious blackmail of hunger, or quite simply by brutal police intervention.

Having abandoned the revolutionary methods of defense of the USSR, Stalin is forced to **borrow his entire policy from the infernal arsenal of imperialism.** Instead of creating on the periphery of the Soviet Union sister soviet republics supported by the enthusiasm and devotion of the toiling masses, Stalin surrounds it with a group of police buffer states where large layers of the population, starving and desperate, are turning again to imperialism.

OUR CONDEMNATION

While we condemn the bureaucratic explansionism as a reactionary policy, we do not grant to the imperialists the right to shed crocodile tears over the fate of the "poor little oppressed peoples." We have seen these "humanitarian democrats" at work when they atomized Nagasaki, burned Bekasi and other Indonesian villages, organized the white terror in Greece and starved India. But it is precisely on the basis of the defense of **its own interests** that the world proletariat must recognize how futile and criminal the Stalinist policy is,

Futile because in the age of the atomic bomb, an additional few hundred kilometers do not in any way constitute a sufficient defensive base. To fight against the atomic bomb by means of strategic bases, is like fighting against artillery with spears. Criminal because it brings discredit upon the USSR in the eyes of the world proletariat and the colonial peoples, because the similarity of political methods leads the masses to identify the Soviet Union with an imperialist country.

To the extent that it widens the gulf between the policy of the bureaucracy and the interests of the proletariat, to the extent that it enables imperialism to array the English and American masses not only against Stalin but against the USSR as such — to that extent Stalin's policy favors the imperialist war preparations and increases the threat to the USSR.

At Brest-Litovsk, Lenin "sacrificed space to gain time." Stalin is in the act of sacrificing time to gain space which will protect him neither against his internal difficulties, nor against the atom bomb.

(Translated from the Belgian Trotskyist paper, "La Lutte Ouvriere, April 20, 1946. Next week's "Militant" will feature another article on this question.)

No Decisive Changes Achieved As Result Of June 2 French Elections

Belgian Miners Give Militant Strong Support

(Special to The Militant)

BRUSSELS, May 19—One of the outstanding Trotskyist militants, Victor Bougard, member of the Central Committee of the Internationalist Communist Party (PCI), Belgian section of the Fourth International, is the principal delegate of the miners of the village of Anderlues, in the center industrial region.

As a defender of the workers' interests, this militant is feared and hated by the bosses, who recently tried to "liquidate" him by firing him from the pit where he worked. The miners have already gone on strike several times to defend their delegate.

Finally, in the midst of negotiations, at a time when the bosses and the Stalinists were pouring all their calumnies on Bougard, he ran as candidate for the post of regional secretary of the Amalgamated Miners' Union. The Stalinists put up as their candidate, Desnos, their leader in that province. The result is significant; 2,300 votes for Bougard, 2,700 votes for the Stalinist.

Famine Victims In China

A mother and her child in China are two among hundreds of millions of workers and peasnts doomed to starvation as famine sweeps the Far East and all of Europe. The child's swollen stomach and pitifully thin arms and legs have become a common sight as food is hoarded by speculators or sold to the rich on the black market.

The Vatican--A Powerhouse Of World Political Reaction

By Joseph Hansen

The Vatican is becoming increasingly active in political affairs. The Pope made headlines throughout the world with his direct intervention in the Italian and French elections of June 2. Recently Cardinal Spellman raised a political sword in this country to slash at "communism."

The Catholic hierarchy intervenes in politics under guise of defending "religion" from attack. This subterfuge is false to the core. The question of a man's own views on the nature of the universe, etc., has not been made a political issue by any of the working class parties. Even the Trotskyists, who base their world outlook on scientific findings, have not made religion a political issue. Responsibility for injecting religion into politics rests squarely with the Vatican.

For hundreds of years the Vatican fought ruthlessly to combine government and religion. The Papacy insisted on state support to the exclusion of other religions. Taxes wrung wrom the poor people were diverted into its treasuries. The Catholic hierarchy organized widespread persecution of all who advocated separating church and state. Men and women were tortured and burned at the stake for opposing the Vatican on this question.

In most advanced countries the separation of church and state has been achieved. But now the Vatican is fighting from the second line trenches. It is combining religion and politics. Consequently, like any other political organization, the Catholic hierarchy must be held accountable for its position on the burning political issues of the day.

The political record of the Papacy is most sinister and reactionary. The Pope blessed the arms of Franco, the butcher of the Spanish working class and supports this foul dictator to this day.

The Vatican got along very well with Mussolini and worked out a mutually profitable arrangement with him. After the downfall of Mussolini, the Vatican organized its hundreds of thousands of priests and nuns as political shock troops to take the place of the fascist Black Shirts in bolstering Italian reaction. Priests and nuns openly campaigned for the House of Savoy. Armed with lavish funds, they did their utmost as ward heelers to save the hated monarchy. This high-pressure political campaign reached its climax with a speech by the Pope himself carefully timed to hit the voters on the eve of the election. The Pope, in the name of religion, did his utmost to block the republic and save the monarchy which had helped Mussolini to power.

SUPPORTS MRP

In France the Catholic hierarchy is up to its neck in the Popular Republican Movement (MRP), a political party organized against the working class. The MRP is fighting tooth and nail to save the capitalist system which plunged France into the Second World War and continues to chain the people in misery. Here again the Pope interevened personally in the elections to call for the defeat of the candidates of the working class parties.

In other European countries, the Papacy is playing a similar role.

Throughout Latin America the Vatican is one of the principal forces in the camps of political reaction. In Argentina, for instance, the Peron regime is closely tied in with the "official religion." Roman Catholicism. In return for political favors, Peron recently granted special privileges to the Catholics. He banned missionary activity by other religions and set up a "special registry" for them that seriously cripples their activities.

BACKS FASCIST

In the United States, Father Coughlin, the "radio priest" enjoyed wide support among the hierarchy. Before the war Coughlin set out to organize a native fascist movement in America patterned on the movements of Hitler and Mussolini. Money from mysterious sources poured into his campaign. Coughlin spoke weekly over a wide radio hookup, centering his attack on the labor movement. He published a most expensive magazine "Social Justice" which sold below cost. Many priests took bundle orders, and distributed the poisonous literature to youths in the parish who were permitted to keep whatever money they got from sales.

Cardinal Spellman has replaced Coughlin as leading political spokesman for the Vatican in America. He is fighting for continuation of President Roosevelt's line of recognizing the Papal State as a world political power. Spellman wants Washington to recognize The Vatican and send a representative to act as ambassador. When Protestant clergymen protested Truman's continuing his departure from the traditional policy of separating church and state, Spellman struck at them with most violent language: "What reason then have these men of religion to make such demands of the President of the United States? Is it the anti-Catholicism of unhooded Klansmen sowing seeds of disunion within our treasured nation?"

The Vatican is utilizing the Catholic hierarchy as a vast international network of political agents in the service of dying capitalism. These robed politicians are trying to keep capitalism from the grave a little longer. In carrying out this reactionary political task they have become the most outspoken defenders of an economic system that can only breed depressions, famine and atomic wars that may wipe out mankind.

Radicalization Of Masses Still Dominant Fact

(Special to The Militant)

PARIS, June 7—"The elections of June 2 have generally confirmed the view that the French situation has been characterized by a marking of time for several months in spite of a growth in general discontent," according to the post-election statement of the Political Bureau of the Internationalist Communist Party (PCI), French section of the Fourth International.

"The number of votes received by the Communist Party (Stalinists) and the Socialist Party amounted in October 1945 to 9,506,273; in May 1946 to 9,280,386. In June 1946 the SP, the CP and the PCI got 9,377,987 votes," the statement continues.

"As to the capitalist parties—the MRP (Popular Republican Movement), the PRL (Republican Liberty Party), the Radicals (prewar mass party of the capitalists), etc.,—they received 9,599,950 votes in October 1945; 10,450,883 votes in May 1946; 10,427,343 votes on June 2.

"The workers' votes do not vary essentially. The capitalist votes show a slight increase in view of a decrease in absentions."

TENDENCIES EVIDENT

Analyzing these results, the statement appearing in today's **La Verite**, weekly paper of the PCI, demonstrates the following tendencies that have become evident.

The Stalinists held their own by and large, losing votes in the workers' districts (in the Seine, which includes Paris and the famous "Red Belt" of workers' suburbs; the Seine-et-Oise; in two election districts of the mining region in the Nord, at Lyons, in the Loire; in the Bouches-du-Rhone district, etc.). At the same time their vote increased in peasant regions previously known as strongholds of reaction.

This continues and reinforces a trend already observable to a less extent last October. While advanced workers tend to become disillusioned with the treacherous policy of the Stalinists, the most exploited layers of the rural population first becoming radicalized rally to the CP banner. It is also notable that in contradistinction to 1945, when abstentions were heaviest in middle class districts, this time they were more pronounced in labor strongholds.

SP LOSSES HEAVY

The reformists of the Socialist Party were the heavy losers. This fact is universally ascribed to their assuming formal responsibility for the government of the SP-CP-MRP coalition. The resentment of the masses against the government which kept them at a starvation level while permitting the capitalists to entrench themselves more and more appears to have been directed in the first place against the SP.

In the capitalist camp the most striking features are the considerable growth of the MRP and the failure of the PRL to register any real progress (except in the Paris region, where it did gain even at the expense of the MRP). In some 30-odd cases the sponsors of the heavily-financed PRL withdrew their candidates in favor of the MRP.

This would indicate that French capitalism is not yet ready to launch a reactionary offensive which requires wide support among the lower middle class masses. Instead, it prefers for the period to come to continue to stake its fate on collaboration with the treacherous parties claiming the allegiance of labor and on social-Christian demagogy.

The radicalization of the masses, the capitalists thereby recognize, is still the most important fact to be taken into account in the situation as a whole, even if it is only marking time at present.

Big Step Forward Seen In Trotskyist Campaign Vote

(Special to The Militant)

PARIS, June 7—In the 11 districts in which the Internationalist Communist Party (PCI) ran candidates on June 2, it achieved the magnificent total of 44,915 votes. If this result is to be taken as an indication of the trend in the country as a whole—and it can be, for the 11 districts were representative—then this means that some 250,000 to 300,000 revolutionary workers, or what would amount to one and a half per cent of the entire electorate, have already turned to revolutionary Trotskyism as their banner.

It would be hard to overestimate the significance of the Trotskyist votes, achieved amidst an intensive campaign, with the powerful Stalinist machine hurling its slanders and calumny against our comrades as "Hitlero-Trotskyists."

This marks the first time in the history of the Fourth International that one of its parties, participating in elections on a national scale, has achieved a genuine mass response.

A TURNING POINT

It is in this historical light, rather than by comparison with the millions of votes still accorded the reformists and Stalinists, that this turning point in the development of world Trotskyism can best be assessed. That the Stalinist leaders have been shaken by this fact is evidenced by the daily campaign of slander, which has been reenforced since the election, in their **L'Humanite.**

In one district in Paris, the First, the PCI did, to be sure, lose 3,500 votes over October 1945. But in this district there was a direct struggle between the PRL (Republican Liberal Party), particularly strong there, and the Stalinists. Evidently, many workers were motivated here by the fear of a capitalist election victory. But the PCI was nevertheless still able to get over 4,000 votes even in this district, which shows how deliberately and determinedly the supporters of the Trotskyist party voted in the country as a whole.

REMARKABLE RESPONSE

In addition it must be pointed out that in general, parliamentary illusions, which are still strong among the masses, tend to reflect erroneously the actual influence of the revolutionary party in election results. The real strength of the PCI among the masses must therefore be assessed much higher than the voting figures show. This is borne out also by the fact that there was a widespread, although not heavy, phenomenon of ballots invalidated which were marked both CP (Stalinist) and PCI, giving evidence of vacillation on the part of voters. Finally it should be noted that all meetings of the Trotskyists in the campaign were packed, and that there was a remarkable response by the workers to the party's election fund—which has today surpassed 1,190,000 francs.

That the party's campaign, which took as its point of departure the fight against the wage freeze, was effective and well-timed, can be gathered by the final election move of the Stalinists. Three days prior to June 2 they came out with an anouncement that they would support a general increase of wages. It is also evident that the mass pressure on this point has mounted so powerfully that it can no longer be resisted even by the Stalinists, who up to now have been able to force through their pro-capitalist production plans on the working class.

COMING STRUGGLES

By their change of position, the Stalinists may well have lifted the lid on a veritable explosion of extra-parliamentary class struggles, which will not be quite so easy for them to control. For the first time, talk of strikes is widespread in France. A stormy development along these lines seems indicated.

The PCI, planning to consolidate its election gains, and to capitalize on them for the reenforcement of its organizational structure and trade union influence, will undoubtedly mark further progress in the course of the coming class conflicts.

Indian Congress Balks At Fake 'Independence' Plan

By Larissa Reed

The Indian National Congress, after weeks of intense negotiations, has rejected the British Cabinet mission's plans for an "interim government" in India.

These plans, outlined in a White Paper issued on May 16 to the Indian people and read in the British House of Commons by Laborite Prime Minister Attlee, were rejected however, only "in their present form." The Indian Congress president, Dr. Maulana Azad, based his rejection on the ground that the plan would grant parity — that is, equal representation — in the "interim government" to both the Congress Party and the Moslem League. Azad is confining his opposition to the demand that ten seats be allotted to the Congress, and only five seats to the Moslem League.

But the capitalist Congress Party is evidently ready and willing to accept the White Paper's fraudulent proposals for Indian "independence." The White Paper differs in no essentials from the Wavell Plan, presented last year, and accepted by the Congress Party, except that it is offered in the name of the British Labor government instead of the arch-reactionary Churchill regime. The White Paper, like the Wavell Plan, is nothing but a new form of the old slavery.

The White Paper first of all assures that all **decisive** powers for continued rule over the Indian masses remain in the hands of the British. These include the continued British monopoly of defense, foreign affairs and communications.

BRITISH TOOLS

Also provided for is the continued dismemberment and cleavage between the Indian sections by the creation of two separate groups of provinces, each with its own executive and legislative organs. Moreover, individual provinces remain "free" to reject membership in either group. This provision will serve to keep large numbers in India under the feudal rule of the native princes.

The White Paper provides for a central legislature with taxing powers, under the domination and control of the British overlords. As in the past, all posts of authority will be staffed with only the most obedient native tools of British imperialism. As in the past, they will continue to be responsible only to the British Viceroy and not to the Central Legislative Assembly. The Assembly would still have no power to override the plans of the Viceroy by a vote of no confidence. The power of veto is retained in full by the Viceroy.

Like the Wavell plan, the White Paper makes not the slightest attempt to transfer any real power or genuine independence to the Indian people. So reactionary is it that the notorious Leopold Amery, former Secretary of State for India, hailed the White Paper as a great advance.

This plan, however, was formally accepted and recommended to the Indian peoples by Mohandas K. Gandhi last month. This misleader has declared that through this plan, the British "have come to devise the easiest and quickest method of ending British rule."

The conduct of the Congress Party, the Moslem League and Gandhi's pronouncement thus reveal that the native capitalist class of India is frightened by the mounting mass unrest and threat of a revolutionary outbreak on an unprecedented scale. The recent mutiny in the Indian Navy, the revolt of the Bombay "Untouchables", the threatened strike of the railway workers involving nearly 1,500,000 men, the hunger demonstrations amid growing famine, are lightning flashes of this coming storm. The native capitalists through the leadership of the Congress Party and the Moslem League, would like to capitulate to the British imperialist rulers. The current disagreement is merely over the terms of this capitulation.

Workers Killed Through Greed Of Mine Owners

(Special to The Militant)

CHARLEROI, Belgium, May 15—A recent mining catastrophe in the "Sacre Francais" pit in the Charleroi region caused the death of 16 miners, among whom were seven German prisoners. **La Lutte Ouvriere,** organ of the Belgian Trotskyists, published a special report on this catastrophe, giving irrefutable proofs that it was the coal owners' negligence which caused the death of these 16 miners.

At the burial of the victims an immense crowd of more than 10,000 people assembled. It became known that the German prisoners were to be buried apart from the Belgian miners. It was also learned that the Belgian police had threatened to shoot hostages taken from among the German prisoner-miners when they wanted that day to stop work as a protest against the capitalists' negligence and in mourning for the death of their comrades.

CLASP HANDS

Immediately delegates of the Belgian miners went to the prisoners' barracks, succeeded by a trick in releasing a large number of the prisoners, and went with them to the edge of the graves of their German comrades. There they scattered on the graves flowers spontaneously bought by the Belgian miners, and across the open tomb about to swallow these new victims of the capitalist regime, a delegate of the Belgian miners and a delegate of the German prisoners clasped hands, and jointly spoke to those gathered around.

The German prisoner finished his brief speech thus: "Belgian comrades, never shall we forget, when we go back home, your solidarity with us here."

U. S. Non-Intervention Pledge Violated In China Civil War

(Continued from Page 1)

China theater, gave an assurance that the U. S. Army in China would be sent home by May 1. Two months later, on June 4, Lt.-Gen. Alvin C. Gillen, also of the U. S. Army, declared that the China theater would not be deactivated and that American troops might remain until the end of 1946.

MORE INTERVENTION

Already heavily committed to a policy of intervention in line with its predatory imperialist aims, the U. S. government has no intention of withdrawing its armed forces from China. On the contrary, it intends to intervene still more energetically on the side of Chinese reaction.

This is indicated very clearly by the fact that families of American soldiers are now being transported to China.

Chiang Kai-shek's rotten and reactionary regime, shot through with corruption and responsible for all the agony of China's millions, is universally hated by the masses. Never during the two decades of its bloody rule has this regime been more isolated than it is today. Only the military might of American imperialism, lavishly placed at Chiang's disposal, prevents the insurgent nation from settling scores with the regime of reaction and oppression.

The imperialist policy-makers in Washington are fully aware of the rottenness of the Kuomintang government. But they know, too, that a popular revolution which swept it away would also spike their plans to convert China into a colony of the Wall Street plutocrats and a base for war against the Soviet Union.

Hence, ignoring their own repeated pledges of non-intervention, and despite all the flowery talk about allowing every nation to decide its own fate, the U. S. imperialists continue giving unstinted aid to Chiang Kai-shek.

BASE AGAINST USSR.

Also in violation of China's supposed sovereignty and all their protestations of their love of peace, the U. S. imperialists are building up a gigantic military base in North China for the war which they plan to launch on the Soviet Union. This base, complete with everything in the way of modern military equipment, including a strategic air force with all ground facilities, already covers a huge area on the outskirts of Peiping and is growing from day to day.

CHICAGO
Forum - Open House
Saturday, June 22
Prominent Speaker On
'What Is Happening In Europe—The Recent Elections'
Dancing . . . Refreshments
777 W. Adams 8 p.m.

NEWARK
Joseph Hansen
"The Road to a Better World"
(Transitional Program of SWP)
Friday, June 21
423 Springfield Ave.
8:30 P.M.

San Francisco
Italian Dinner
SATURDAY, JUNE 29
Dancing . . . Auction
Proceeds to American Comm. For European Workers Relief
Reservations:
EXBROOK 1926
305 Grant Ave. 7 to 9 p.m.

THE MILITANT

Published in the interests of the Working People

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Only the world revolution can save the USSR for socialism. But the world revolution carries with it the inescapable blotting out of the Kremlin oligarchy.

—Leon Trotsky

Thanks To Our Readers

Thanks to the generosity of our thousands of readers and the devoted efforts of the members of the Socialist Workers Party, **The Militant** has successfully concluded its $15,000 Sustaining Fund Campaign.

This fund will enable **The Militant** to continue to bring to the American workers and all other oppressed people our program of liberation from capitalism and its evils.

The contributions which have poured in from all parts of the country represent real sacrifices. They come from poor people, working people, to whom every penny counts in these days of rising prices, black markets and reduced take-home pay.

These sacrifices were made by workers who have recently spent long weeks and months on picket lines, by Negro people who suffer the worst economic conditions, by militant fighters for labor everywhere. This we consider the highest tribute to the role which **The Militant** is playing in educating, inspiring and organizing workers for the revolutionary socialist struggle.

The Militant, as more and more workers are coming to appreciate, is not just another labor paper. It is the THE labor paper which week in and week out, year in and year out, has fought uncompromisingly for the rights of the working people. It is **THE** paper which has dared to swim against the stream of capitalist reaction, in war as well as in the periods between wars.

The Militant has described truthfully, and defended without any "ifs and buts," every effort of the workers to better their conditions. It has turned a steady spotlight on the dark evil-smelling underworld of capitalist rule and exploitation.

But more! It has offered a program, a consitent program tested by events, which provides the only reasonable and effective answer to the great needs of the working class. That is the program of Trotskyism, of genuine Marxism, which is expounded by the Socialist Workers Party.

We shall continue to fight for that program. We shall strive to bring it to new tens of thousands and finally millions of workers. With the continued aid of our devoted readers, we are confident that **The Militant** will grow in influence and will become an ever more powerful weapon in labor's battle.

Atomic Control

The world has been given a most instructive lesson in what control of atomic energy by the capitalist class means.

The first great demonstration of the new source of power was not an indication of its peacetime possibilities but the ominous, shattering explosion of an atomic bomb in New Mexico. The next two demonstrations occurred at Nagasaki and Hiroshima. A fraction of an ounce of fissional material levelled two great populous cities, leaving not one stone upon another.

Since V-J Day the capitalist class has given additional proof that under its control atomic energy means simply still more horribly destructive instruments of destruction. The atomic energy plants are turning out nothing but bigger and more powerful atomic bombs.

The development of scientific knowledge about the atom has become a monopoly of Wall Street's government. Information about manufacturing processes is a top state secret. The scientists are held virtually as captives. Capitalist control has strapped a straightjacket on progress in this field. Wall Street utilizes its monopoly of atomic energy as an instrument of power politics. It dangles the atomic bomb over conference tables, threatening the entire world with this weapon.

In the hands of the working class the development of atomic energy would follow a completely different course. The working class has no interest in dominating or exploiting anyone. The working class wants to remove the capitalist shackles on production, better the standard of living, improve and expand industry and pour out goods in unlimited quantities.

Consequently under workers' rule, atomic energy could open up a new world of incalculable wealth. First of all, the working class would press for the construction of atomic energy power plants on a vast scale. These plants, automatically producing their own fuel and eliminating the present costly transportation of energy, would immediately release hundreds of millions of man-hours for more productive labor.

Next the working class would press for wide-scale utilization of the invaluable by-products of atomic energy in medical and other scientific fields. The major illnesses of mankind such as cancer would undoubtedly be quickly eliminated. Superb health and longevity would give up their secrets.

The scientifists would be freed from crippling restrictions, including the feeling that their best efforts are diverted into destructive channels. Moreover the working class would be interested in greatly expanding the field of science and in opening wide the doors of scientific schools and institutions to the youth.

Under socialism atomic energy could be used to eliminate world poverty in the course of a few decades. The entire era of capitalist depressions, wars, and slaughter would take its proper place in the museum alongside the dinosaur.

That is why control of atomic energy should be taken out of the hands of profit-mad Wall Street and placed with the working class.

After Case Bill Veto

Union leaders like CIO President Philip Murray and David Dubinsky, president of the AFL International Ladies Garment Workers, are indicating they want to cuddle up to Truman once more.

They have been seeking a handy pretext to make another deal with the Democratic administration which has been kicking labor in the face. This pretext is supplied by Truman's veto of the Case Anti-Union Bill.

Of course, these union leaders would have a mighty tough time convincing most workers that Truman is any great "friend of labor." But they can be expected to pull out the moth-eaten argument that labor should "string along" with Truman because he is "better" than the Republican alternatives. Look—he vetoed the Case Bill!

This argument is cracked right down the middle. It assumes that labor has only one alternative—the choice between the two political camps of Big Business, the Democrats and Republicans.

But, the truth is, the two capitalist parties have no real differences in their attitude toward labor. Can anyone forget Truman's record of wholesale strikebreaking, climaxed by his assault on the railroad workers? And isn't Truman's Draft-Strikers Bill just as vicious as the Case Bill?

We don't need to go merely to the most recent evidence of how the union leaders' political policies have short-changed the workers. Murray himself, at the recent CIO Steelworkers convention, complained that in nine years there have been no legislative gains for labor. On the contrary, both Democrats and Republicans have struck labor blow after blow. That is the only result of the political program pushed by the Murrays and Dubinskys.

What have the workers to gain by continuing to hunt with a microscope for tiny specks of difference between two capitalist parties, both owned lock, stock and barrel by Big Business?

Fortunately, the workers have a real alternative to such a futile, thankless course. That alternative is the building of an independent labor party.

Only through its own party, with its own labor candidates, will the labor movement have an effective weapon to combat Wall Street's political schemes against the working people.

Feet Of Clay

When Supreme Court Justice Jackson sent a wire from Nuremberg June 10 blasting Supreme Court Justice Black, the capitalist press gave the squabble front page headlines.

Robert Houghout Jackson is supposed to be carrying out a sacred duty prosecuting the Nazi war criminals. But this did not prevent him from keeping a sharp eye on his political fences back home. When Truman appointed personal friend Vinson as Supreme Court Justice, the ambitious Jackson suddenly lost interest in the Nazis in the dock before him and decided the most burning political necessity of the day was a scalping job on fellow Justice and fellow Democrat Hugo Lafayette Black.

And so Jackson raised the question of Black's "ethics." It seems that Black happened to vote once in favor of labor in a case before the Supreme Court. It likewise happened that the attorney hired by the union in this case —Jewel Ridge Coal versus the coal miners— was once Hugo Black's law partner. Hence, claims Jackson, to preserve the "impartiality" of the Supreme Court, Black should have disqualified himself.

Few things in this world are as rare as Supreme Court decisions in favor of the labor movement. Actually this particular decision was granted only because the coal miners had demonstrated their power on the picket line. The miners would have won whether Black disqualified himself or not.

The truth is that the Supreme Court, like Congress and the White House, is simply a cog in Wall Street's governmental machine. It is NOT impartial. Its decisions are always carefully considered in the light of Wall Street's economic and political needs. The scales of Supreme Court justice always tip in the direction of the capitalist class.

This is guaranteed by the type of men selected to be judges. Most of them are corporation lawyers. All of them are products of the Democratic and Republican political machines. They have made their careers as paid political agents of Wall Street. They are appointed to the Supreme Court as a reward for political services rendered. For some of these machine politicians the Supreme Court is only a stepping stone to bigger and juicier posts. Others consider it a lifetime racket.

The Jackson-Black squabble thus only highlights the fact that these judges are not guardians of "ethics." They are black-robed political hatchet men for the capitalist class. They have imposing fronts, but their feet are clay.

"I never really cared for beer, but it's quite the thing now—there's a shortage of it, you know!"

Workers BOOKSHELF

THE OX-BOW INCIDENT, by Walter Van Tilburg Clark; Penguin Books, April 1943.

Here is an intensely dramatic, profoundly moving story woven around a timeless and universal theme. **The Ox-Bow Incident,** first novel of a young American writer, Walter Van Tilburg Clark, is a penetrating study of the thoughts and emotions of men participating in a lynching.

Although the setting is a small, isolated Nevada town and the action took place in 1885, the novel could as well have been written about a Southern lynch mob in 1946: blind hatred and unreasoned anger, then as now, motivated the mob; a few shreds of circumstantial evidence, then as now, were convincing enough for degenerate men bent on destroying those they hate.

In Clark's novel the victims of mob rage are not Negroes but white men. The lynchers are not Southern bourbons but Western cattlemen. Motivation for the action is not the alleged violation of a white woman, but the alleged theft of a few head of cattle and the erroneous belief that a man had been murdered.

SUSPICIOUS OF ALL

A few cattle had been rustled early in the spring of 1885 from a small valley in Nevada. None of the ranchers had any idea who the rustlers were. They were suspicious of everyone. A young and excited cowhand rode into the town of Bridger Wells one day and told a garbled story of a man being shot and cattle being stolen. On questioning it turned out that his information was based on nothing but rumors.

Nonetheless, two cattlemen and the village drunk demanded the formation of a lynching party. News spread and a crowd assembled at the saloon. Saner men urged the others to wait and determine the facts, to call the sheriff and form a legal posse. The crowd's emotion surged back and forth between furious anger and calmer thought as it was influenced first by those insistent on lynching and then by the few reasonable men.

CONFLICT SHOWN

The majority lacked the conviction that what they were doing was right. Many doubted the validity of the young cowboy's story. Yet few had the courage to oppose the self-appointed leaders and the apparent unanimity of the crowd. Most of the men feared being branded as cowards unless they went along with the others. They preferred being guilty of murder to the danger of being social outcasts.

The conflict, now open and again hidden, between those who insisted on going through with the lynching and those who opposed it, forms the major portion of the story. The forces for and against the action were at all times closely balanced. The decisive factor was supplied by the leader, a well-to-do, ruthless rancher who had served as an officer in the Confederate army.

Although others shifted their position in the ebb and flow of passions, he never deviated from the course he had set for himself and the mob. He led the 28 men forming the mob in their pursuit through the suspense filled night; he directed the capture of the three men accused of rustling, conducted the summary questioning and the early morning execution of the crime.

This psychological study is applicable not only to American lynch mobs. The same subjective factors dominate wherever reactionaries and fascists commit their abominable crimes, wherever blind prejudice motivates the actions of men. The **Ox-Bow** Incident has a high place among the truly worthwhile American novels. It should be read by every worker and every person interested in the triumph of reason over bigotry, of justice over mob fury.

Reviewed by Charles Carsten

Congressmen At Work

The Sad Plight Of Congressional Slaves

When Wall Street's Congressmen pass legislation to freeze wages, break strikes and hogtie the unions, they pose as "statesmen," nobly cutting labor's throat in the "public interest."

But last week when these same Congressmen decided to boost their own wages they were no longer "statesmen." For a day they became just poor working stiffs trying to make ends meet.

Senator Bridges described the bitter toil and sweat in the halls of Congress: "I have seen man after man in the United States Senate . . . die from overwork. Overwork has been the primary cause of death of most of the Senators I have in mind."

TOUCHING PICTURE

This agitator didn't bother about any death certificates to substantiate his argument about the cause of death, but he painted a picture that touched the heart of every Congressman: "Senator Maloney died solely from the strain of overwork. Senator McNary . . . died by reason of a great accumulation of work. The same thing is true of Senator Scrugham of Nevada, Senator Thomas of Idaho, Senator Sheppard of Texas, Senator Harrison of Mississippi and Senator Adams of Colorado . . . Senator Pittman of Nevada and Senator Gibson of Vermont died

from overwork. Senator Copeland of New York is another man who literally worked himself into his grave."

The injustice of it all! Senators dropping dead on all sides. The legislative belt-line grinding remorselessly on while they haul out the bodies. Yet wages held down to a miserable $10,000 a year, plus $4,500 for the wife, if you put her on the payroll, plus $3,000 for expenses, etc. "Today Senators have the terrific problem of making both ends meet."

SEETHING INDIGNATION

But there are other crimes against human dignity that rankle still deeper. "One of the most disgusting things I have noticed in Washington," continued Bridges, is "the use of Government cars by the bureaucrats downtown."

With seething indignation, this agitator described how the upper class of Washington bureaucrats loll in luxury while the toiling Congressmen endure hardships beyond description. After a dinner party "more than 20 sleek black limousines, driven by Government chauffeurs, pulled up and picked up the various Government bureaucrats and took them on their way."

What was the plight of the poverty-stricken Congressmen? "I saw United States Senators and Representatives and their wives get sopping wet while trying to get taxis or proceeding to streetcar lines."

The agitator now reached the climax of his historic speech calling on the legislative slaves to rise up and boost their own wages: "Senators are now limited to 26 official long-distance telephone calls a month. Yet any third-class clerk in a Government department or agency can pick up the telephone and call San Francisco, Seattle, or any other distant point at any time of the day he wishes."

DOWN WITH OPPOSITION

A company-minded stiff, Bilbo of Mississippi, tried to counteract Bridges' agitation: "I have been here nearly 12 years," said Bilbo, "and I have gotten along reasonably well on $10,000 a year, plus my mileage. The fact of the matter is that I have gotten fat on the job because I have been getting so much."

But this traitor didn't get very far. When he confessed he had "never read" the bill, the other legislative slaves in the Senate rose up in all their might and by a big thumping majority voted themselves a 50 per cent wage boost plus a boost of almost 100 per cent for the "assistant."

BROOKLYN FORUM

"A Program To Defeat Truman's War On Labor"

Speaker: HARRY RING

Socialist Workers Party Organizer

THURSDAY, JUNE 30, 8 p.m.

SWP Headquarters 635 Fulton St.

PROBLEMS FACING WAR VETERANS

By ALVIN ROYCE

Bosses Kicking Vets Around

Few GIs thought they would remain heroes very long after they returned home, but even fewer expected to be called "tramps" or "lazy ingrates" before the capitalists had even signed the peace treaties.

Just a few weeks ago two veterans told a magistrate in a Brooklyn court, that they were unemployed because they didn't want to work for $25 a week. The judge told them to forget the "hero" nonsense and stop being so "choosy" about wages.

The June 9 N. Y. Times summed up Wall Street's attitude toward the veteran. In the magazine and news sections writers paid glowing tribute to the wonderful job the GIs did just two years ago on the beaches of Normandy. But, while some of these journalistic stooges of the bosses are speaking of the "heroes" in one column others are shouting "tramp" in another.

The **Times'** veteran expert reports that "a number of veterans appeared to be taking advantage in a short-sighted manner of some parts of the program." This capitalist "champion" of the veteran goes on to state "the public was reported to have become aroused over the prevalence of 52-20 clubs." This "public" is not aroused over the fact that the returning veterans can't find a decent job. The **Times** would like to see these clubs broken up but are afraid that "any cure attempted by an elective or appointive official would savor of kicking a hero in the face." The **Times,** speaking for Wall Street, favors forcing the vet to take a low paid job or lose his unemployment compensation!

After telling the workers that they were fighting for a "free new world" these parasites are aroused because the vets don't want a $25 a week job. Even these jobs will soon become scarce, according to Gen. Bradley who states that there will be 3,500,000 unemployed vets this fall. Yet the administration is not lifting a finger to solve this crisis. Capitalism needs soldiers in wartime but veterans are only a nuisance after the shooting stops.

One of the **Times** correspondents in New Hampshire reports another story. He says that, "the vets are being prostituted, that on the job training is making them mad. They accept such positions in good faith. One Marine, an Iwo Jima vet, who was a plane mechanic and sought additional experience, signed up at an airport. He spent most of his time running a truck to town doing odd chores, carrying garbage to the dump and making up about the airport. He quit in disgust."

It makes no difference to the boss whether a worker is a veteran or a non-veteran. The "on the job" training program is being used, by the employer, as a method of obtaining cheap labor. Wall Street wants the veteran to remain economically helpless, without a skill, so that he can be held in readiness as a strikebreaker.

UAW Program A Start

Many of the more progressive unions have already made the vet's problems one of the main points on their agenda. For example, at the UAW's Convention in March a veterans' program was adopted which, with all its inadequacies, is certainly a step in the right direction. Unions in increasing numbers have come to realize that the fight for jobs for the veterans must be led by the unions.

The "CIO Vet," official publication of the Buffalo CIO Council Veteran's Committee, points out that "attempts will be made to use vets in the maritime strike" and many other strikes in the future. This CIO organ goes on to warn, "labor is heading into a grave storm and the vet issue may be a hot potato for labor this time. Your union needs the protection of a vets' committee."

All workers would do well to keep in mind this slogan of the Buffalo CIO Council Veterans Committee "The NAM is trying to organize the vets—What's your union doing?"

Tobacco Monopolists Extort Millions In Booty

After six years during which the U. S. Department of Justice conducted a leisurely "trust-busting fight" against the three leading tobacco companies in this country, the U. S. Supreme Court on June 10 unanimously affirmed their conviction for violation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act.

All this conviction meant was that the Court upheld fines aggregating $255,000 against the R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company, the Liggett & Myers Tobacco Company and the American Tobacco Company, together with its subsidiary, American Suppliers, Inc. These fines are piddling compared to the hundreds of millions in profits, these companies have extorted through illegal monopoly practices.

The fines were levied on four counts: conspiracy in restraint of trade; monopolization; attempt to monopolize, and conspiracy to monopolize.

In 1940 the Justice Department filed suit against the big three in tobacco, accusing them of such practices as buying up needed tobacco to prevent its use by competitors, and agreeing on the maximum prices they would pay at tobacco auctions.

The Court found that the combined volume of tobacco production of the big three monopolists rose from 106-billion cigarettes in 1931 to 123-billions in 1939. "Without adverse criticism," the Court apologized, "comparative size on this great scale inevitably increased the power of these three to dominate all phases of the industry."

The R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company, one of the three which was rebuked with part of this light fine, has just issued a report of its operations for the year 1945. Net profits after taxes and all charges amounted to $19,229,310, compared with $17,187,757 in 1944, a lush war year.

The American Tobacco Company and its consolidated subsidiaries, last year reported net profits of $19,697,066, a slight decline of $200,000 from its 1944 high. However, its assets jumped in one year from $360,267,833 to a record $387,992,652 in December 1945. This same corporation during the war paid its workers as little as 40 cents an hour. When last October the underpaid American Tobacco workers struck for a 25 cent per hour wage increase, the corporation let them walk the picket lines for over four months before it consented to negotiate.

As in all other 'anti-trust' suits brought by the capitalist government, absolutely nothing has been done to really eliminate monopolistic practices by the profiteering big three tobacco kings.

WORKERS' FORUM

The Workers' Forum columns are open to the opinions of the readers of "The Militant". Letters are welcome on any subject of interest to the workers. Keep them short and include your name and address. Indicate if you do not want your name printed.

A Letter to Truman

To Harry Truman:

If and when we have a government in Washington of, by and for the people of the U. S. A., the workers will not strike against THAT government, Mr. President.

M. M.
Minneapolis, Minn.

Metal Workers Chairman Calls For Political Action

Editor:

The crust is cracking! When the ultra conservative general chairman of the Northern Pacific Sheet-Metal Workers makes a speech advocating political action it is on par with the 'man bites dog story.' This was the truly epochal incident at our June 7 monthly meeting.

And to cap it all, the membership voted to create a Political Education Committee. In the past year or so Local 209 has made amazing progress and will continue to do so in spite of a number of misguided reactionary members!

Labor is rising!

O. B.
St. Paul, Minn.

Capitalists Admit Coming Depression

Editor:

The enclosed clipping from the **June 11 Christian Science Monitor** may be of interest. M. E. Coyle, the new executive vice-president of General Motors, told a conference of advertising executives in New York:

"The backlog of cars in demand is not as high . . . as many say, and we will catch up with the pent-up demand more quickly than many think."

This is from the spokesman of the auto industry, the industry touted as the one to spark-plug and save the economy.

Also interesting were the remarks of the **N. Y. Herald-Tribune** business manager, who begs advertisers to spend "a respectable proportion" of their money to advertise private enterprise, lest the workers lose faith in it. Because—first, he says, there will be three or four "lush years" —"and then will come the bust —the biggest hangover we've ever experienced."

Out of their own mouths!

G. W.
Allston, Mass.

"SKID ROW"

Street lights are blurred by the grey, clinging mist
Swing bands are battling with Schubert and Liszt,
Clocks over bars count the hours before dawn
Oh, how many dreams are shattered and gone?
Night hunting shadows in gloom darkened doors,
Blind windows gaping in long empty stores—
Faces that float on the rip-tide of life
Once living, now drowned by its buffeting strife . . .

* * *

Come quickly sun, lest you find me in tears,
Weeping for those whom we lash with our jeers . . .

Eddie Dumaine

Hollywood Musicians Won 40 Per Cent Wage Increase

Editor:

In the recent negotiations between the Musician's Union and the Hollywood motion picture producers, the union's demand for a 100 per cent raise plus concessions was not met. In the final agreement a raise of about 40 per cent was granted. In return for this raise the producers asked the union officials for a small favor in return: namely, that the union should announce to the press that the raise was only 33 per cent. This was done so that the publicity of too high a raise should not set a bad example to other unions.

Ben Maxson
Los Angeles, Cal.

Reader Thinks 'Militant' Incites Chaos

Editor:

First of all let me say that I have read **The Militant** carefully for the past six months, and in that period of time not once have I seen one constructive suggestion to make this world a better place in which to live. From end to end your paper is packed with criticism of the capitalist class, but if these evils were ousted, you offer not one substitute. Is there not one among you who can offer some suggestions for improvement in our government and way of life? The first qualification for criticism, in my estimation, is the ability to see a way to correct the situation; and not merely the ability to use the same time-worn catch phrases which have made up the format of your paper.

For a long time now, though I'm still only 28, I have had some definite ideas on social re-adjustment and reformation; but I've never seen any advantage in merely insults on the capitalists. I am a white collar worker, not an executive; and I've seen the injustices committed by the employer. Likewise, I've seen some pretty foolish stunts pulled by the employes. There is no doubt that what improvement is needed on both sides. Your criticizing the railroad managements on one page, and then criticizing Whitney on the next page: I tell you, it is very difficult to understand just what the purpose of **The Militant** is. One would almost suspect that your only purpose is to incite a complete breakdown of our social and economic structure, with resulting chaos; for you offer no substitute in its place.

I would appreciate enlightenment on just what **The Militant** is trying to do. The ill written and meaningless articles of the last two issues have almost caused me to go over to the other side completely, where at least something new is always offered in place of the old that is discarded.

M. A. Wagner
St. Paul, Minn.

Enthusiastic Reader Wants To Sell 'Militant' Subs To Neighbors

Editor:

When we called on **Militant** subscribers, 75 per cent renewed their subscriptions and told of their interest in the paper.

One of the people we visited is the young wife of a construction worker, a recently returned veteran. She is one of our most enthusiastic **Militant** readers and supporters. After reading each copy of **The Militant** she passes it around to her neighbors, telling them **The Militant** "prints the truth and is the only paper that does."

Her favorite page, she told me, is the back page. And her favorite columnist is Kovalesky. She always turns to the Diary of a Steel Worker and "one of his stories about the slums almost made me cry." She also likes Gray's cartoons on "the rich woman." The series of articles **The Militant** ran on the Fontana atrocity impressed her particularly, too.

We talked a long while and as I was leaving she asked if it would be all right for her to see if she could get some subscriptions from the neighbors. I left some sub blanks with her. She may well prove to be one of our best sub-getters. She certainly has the enthusiasm necessary to be one.

M. Brooks
Boston, Mass.

Food Is Problem Of Workers' Wives

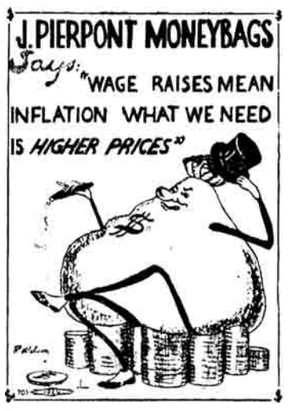
Editor:

Every time one worker's wife meets another, the same subject crops up: How to get enough food for the family with the wage-earner's pay check and with the housewife's limited time.

In this area bread is the most recent problem. Last week, lines formed at the bakeries in the early morning. Women were grabbing the bread off trucks. Police were called "to keep order" in two instances, although the women who grabbed the bread stood in line to pay for it. In another case the bread ran out while there was still a long line waiting. Many who had gotten a loaf had the salesgirls cut it in two to give half to those still waiting. In addition we are paying more for bread here as everywhere, and with the shortage there is an indirect increase by being forced to buy rolls or special breads at still higher prices.

There is almost no available meat here and the black market in poultry is so bad that even the regional OPA admitted it but said they were "helpless." The price of meat when you get it is at least three times as high as in 1941. For example, a cut of beef to pot-roast is 52 cents a pound as compared with 16 cents in January 1941.

The worst feature is that all the cheaper cuts and the meat substitutes are now so high that there is no device, as there once was, for a worker to get food that, while much cheaper, was still fairly nourishing. For example, hamburg and frankfurters cost only a few cents less than the better cuts of meat. The same is true of fish. A fillet



of flounder which cost 19 cents in 1941 is now 49 cents a pound. There is still a fair quantity of canned variety meats which are high priced and contain comparatively little nourishment.

The black markets uncovered a year ago continue to operate very profitably. The fact that they got off by merely paying a small fine has encouraged others to follow their example. Besides, there is legal gypping going on in many ways. One of these is a percentage markup for cutting meat. For example, a whole beef tongue is 52 cents a pound. I wanted only a half, and taking the half containing less waste, was forced to pay 75 cents a pound!

Butter, fats, cooking oils follow the same pattern. They are now scarcer than at any time since the war. Cooking oils are sold in bulk with no identification as to brand or variety. If you demand to know what kind of oil it is—you can take it or leave it.

Fruits and vegetables, fresh or canned are all high priced. As with the meats, there are no "cheaper ones." You can't save by substituting apples for strawberries when apples are 20 cents a pound. You can't buy cauliflower instead of asparagus when a medium head of cauliflower costs 50 cents. During the early spring, cucumbers were 49 cents a piece!

Oranges are now 69 cents a dozen. Canned orange juice costs 49 cents a tall can as compared to 12 cents in 1941.

If the housewife after spending hours going from store to store and waiting in lines feels like taking a trip or making a phone-call to the local OPA to complain or inquire about overcharging and violation of ceilings, she will likely receive the answer I once did:

"Well! You're lucky to get any at all."

Yours for the sliding scale of wages.

J. W.
Boston

Negroes Attacked By Police In Philadelphia And Camden

Editor:

The Republican municipal government of Philadelphia with its staff of drones and hoodlums is protecting the interest of corporations and businesses in this area.

During the General Electric strike the "local staff" sent out mounted police to attack the workers' picket lines. Now it is engaging in an active campaign to divide white and Negro workers, and the police are terrorizing the Negro population.

There has been a series of incidents of police brutality. Last month a plainclothesman provoked a fight with a Negro veteran, who was then arrested and brutally beaten by seven cops.

Next, an 18-year-old boy in Camden who failed to obey a cop's order to halt, was shot by the trigger-happy policeman. The excuse: the cop said he was looking for men reported to be prowling around the neighborhood. The boy's parents were not even allowed to see their wounded son for three days after the shooting!

The third incident was the beating of Earl Bundy, 32 years old, by a white policeman named Russell Young. After being beaten, Bundy was charged with assault and battery and had to pay a $25 fine. Bundy and his mother had been engaged in an argument on the street, when a cop intervened and arrested her, handling her roughly. Bundy objected. The cop grabbed him, hit him over the head, and when Bundy protested, clubbed him into unconsciousness, threw him into a patrol wagon, and carted him off to jail.

The wave of police brutality sweeping the city has a direct bearing on ties between the corrupt municipal administration and the profit-seeking business interests.

Is it coincidental that at the very time workers face increasing unemployment, a rising cost of living, and a housing crisis, a wave of anti-Negro brutality hits the city? Is it possible that the business interests of Philadelphia want to divert the energies and attention of the Philadelphia workers away from these problems, and toward a race riot?

The only way that we, the workers of Philadelphia, will be able to get these parasites off our backs is through supporting and electing a labor party. In November the municipal elections take place. We face again the choice between Democrats and Republicans, who are the same except in name. It's time to reject them both and build a political party that will represent us, the real majority, the working class.

C. Blake
Philadelphia

St. Paul Paper Tells Truth: 'No Profit—No Production'!

Editor:

I don't know what the situation is in other cities, but for some time, it has been almost impossible to buy Kleenex or toilet tissues in St. Paul. Occasionally, if one buys a large order of groceries, the clerk will slip a box of Kleenex or a roll of toilet tissue in one's bag of groceries.

Strangely enough, the reactionary **St. Paul Dispatch** offered a true explanation for the shortage in a news story in the May 18 issue. It appears under the headline: "NO PROFIT, NO PRODUCTION — EXPLAINS TISSUE LACK."

The reporter who interviewed a number of retail and wholesale dealers in paper products was told that the manufacturers have simply quit making these tissues, because they are not making enough money on them. They have turned to the manufacture of higher-grade papers such as stationery and magazine stock on which the profit margin is greater.

All of the dealers agreed that there is as much and probably more paper on the market than ever before — but not of the cheaper types.

It makes no difference to these manufacturers how much they inconvenience people—especially families with babies. Profits come first!

Dorothy Schultz
St. Paul, Minn.

Youth Group Activities

NEW YORK—For information on the Trotskyist Youth Group send name and address to 116 University Place, N. Y. 3, N. Y.

Open Forum: Every Friday, 8 p.m., at 116 University Place, Dancing and refreshments follow.

Brooklyn: Class on "Struggle for Negro Equality." Instructor: Harry Robinson. Every Tuesday at 7:30 p.m. at Brooklyn headquarters, SWP, 635 Fulton Street. Dancing, refreshments.

PHILADELPHIA—Youth Forums held every Saturday, 8 p.m. 1303-05 W. Girard, 2nd floor.

LOS ANGELES — Socialist Youth Club meets every Friday, 8 p.m., at SWP headquarters, 316½ W. Pico Blvd. Educationals by Youth, and SWP speakers.

Subscribe to "Young Militant," published semi-monthly, for truth of youth's struggles.

* * *

Watch this column for further announcements of youth activities.

Detroit SWP Asks For Books

The Detroit branch of the Socialist Workers Party, improving its facilities for friends and visitors, is now enlarging its library. All types of books, including fiction as well as revolutionary literature, will be available.

Readers of **The Militant** who have books, magazines, pamphlets or other material which they can spare, are urged to donate it to the Detroit SWP library where it can be used by increasing numbers of comrades and friends. The literature, or information concerning it, should be sent to the Socialist Workers Party, 6108 Linwood, Detroit 8, Michigan.

Michigan CIO Votes Support To India Workers

(Special to The Militant)

DETROIT, June 13. — In response to a personal appeal by F. E. Qurban, president of the All-India Railwaymen's Federation, the Michigan State CIO convention here adopted a motion for full support to the workers of India in their struggle against British imperialism and to the Indian Railroad workers scheduled to strike on June 27.

A sizeable majority of the 800 delegates supported the motion introduced by Lee Romano, president of the Press Steel unit of Ford Local 600, CIO United Auto Workers, despite opposition led by Roy Reuther, brother of UAW President Walter Reuther. Roy Reuther tried to confuse the issue by bringing in other matters reflecting on the policies of the Soviet Union and covering up the imperialist role of the British Labor Party leaders.

He was effectively answered by Emil Mazey, UAW Detroit East Side Regional Director, who said: "Our position should be one of unqualified support to the Indian workers in their fight for freedom."

Buy 'The Militant' Here:

AKRON
News Exchange, 51 S. Main.
"Militant" Bookshop, 405 Everett Bldg., 39 E. Market St.

BOSTON
Sam's Corner, Central Square, Lynn.
Avenue Tobacco Shop, 312 Blue Hill Ave., Roxbury.
Friendly Variety, Warren St., Grove Hall, Roxbury.
Uptown News Co., 384 Huntington Ave., Boston.

BRISTOL, CONN.
Jack & Lindy Ice Cream Bar, 188 N. Main St.
Bristol Smoke Shop, 240 Main St.

BALTIMORE
Newsstand at N. Liberty and Baltimore Sts.;
Calvert and Fayette St.
Howard and Baltimore Sts.
Eutan St., near Fayette

BUFFALO
S. E. corner Main & Mohr s.
Delaware Ave. & Chippewa S.E. Cor.

CAMPBELL, O.
Eidelman's Newsstand, Wilson Ave. near Sheet and Tube Employment Office.

CHICAGO
Oeshinsky's Book Store, 2750 W. Division
Socialist Workers Bookshop, 777 W. Adams.

CLEVELAND
G & M Newsstand, 9th and Superior.

DETROIT
Family Theatre Newsstand, opposite theater
"Militant" Bookshop 6108 Linwood Ave.
Newsstand at the triangle, (City Hall) on Lafayette, Griswold and Michigan Sts. Newsstands at Cass and Michigan.
City Hall Newsstand, Woodward and Michigan.
Newsstand opposite Book-Cadillac Hotel, Shelby and Michigan.

HARTFORD, CONN.
Capital Newsstand, 450 Asylum.
Nate's Store, 287 Main.

LOS ANGELES
Downtown: NE corner 5th and Main: 326 W. 5th St.; Consolidated Bld. 6th and Hill;
Socialist Workers Party, 316½ Pico Blvd.
Tessiers' Newsstand, 335½ South Hill Street.
Boyle Hgt.: corner Wabash & Evergreen.
2210½ Brooklyn Ave.
Hollywood: Stands at Hollywood and Cahuenga, Hollywood and Los Palmos.
219 W. 8th St.

KANSAS CITY, MO.
Newsstand, corner 10th and Walnut.

MINNEAPOLIS
Labor Book Store, 16 S. 4 St.
Shinder's News Agency
Hennepin Ave. and 6th St.
238 2nd Ave., South

MILWAUKEE
N.W. corner, Wisconsin Ave. on Third St.
Militant Book Shop and SWP office —424 E. Wells St., R. 215.

NEWARK
Socialist Workers Party, 423 Springfield Ave.
S. W. Corner, Broad & Market.
Broad & Branford Pl.
Broad & Academy St.

NEW BRITAIN, CONN.
Prosperity Smoke Shop, 60 Church
Ideal Cut-Rate, 432 Main St.
Rossi's Store, Stanley & Church St.
Brewton's Smoke Shop, 69 Hartford

NEW HAVEN
Nodelman's News Depot, 106 Church St.

NEW YORK
Manhattan, near 14th St.:
101 University Pl.
116 University Pl.
42 E. 14th St.
SE 4th Ave. & Broadway
SW 4th Ave. & 14th St.
NE 4th Ave. & 14th St.
SW 3rd Ave. & 14th St.
212 East 14th St.
Manhattan, near 42nd St.:
SW 8th Ave. & 42nd St.
S Bet. 8th & 6th Ave. & 42nd St.
NE 8th Ave. & 42nd St.
SE 8th Ave. & 42nd St.
SW 6th Ave. & 42nd St.
SW 7th Ave. & 42nd St.
SW 8th Ave. & 42nd St.
Bronx:
NW 174th St. & Boston Road
Tremont Ave. & Southern Blvd.
Floyd A. Glasby, North Side Pharmacy, 2957 Thomas St.
4th & Locust St.
9th & Washington St.
8th & Olive Sts.

PHILADELPHIA
Germantown and Lehigh Aves., N.W. corner 13th St. and Market St.
Labor Forum, 1303 West Girard.
Broad and Arch.
N. E. corner 15th & Market
N. E. Corner, Broad & Race.
1343 Girard Ave.
Nisseno, 23rd & Venango
S. E. Corner, 13th & Filbert.

PITTSBURGH
Hirsch's Bookstore, 1623 Center Ave.
P. & A. Newsstand, 322 Federal St.
Mr. Mason "Newspapers" 1119 E. Carson St.

PORTLAND, ORE.
240 N. Broadway
134 S.W. Washington, 3d floor
Rich's Stand, cor. S.W. Washington and S.W. 6th Ave.

SAN DIEGO, CAL.
Grocery at 2696 Clay St.

SAN FRANCISCO
Fitzgerald News Agency, 21-4th St.; Duncan's Newsstand, 1986 Sutter St.; Ray's Smoke Shop, 1174 Sutter St.; MacDonald's Book Store, 867 Mission St.; Golden Gate News Agency, 81 - 3rd St.; San Francisco School of Social Science, 305 W. Grant.

SAN PEDRO
Johnson's Pool Hall, 631 Beacon St.
LaRue Pharmacy, 1309 Pacific St.
Abrams Pharmacy, 1002 S. Gaffey.
Williams Book Store, 284 W. 6th St.
Militant Pub. Assn., 1008 S. Pacific, Room 214.

SEATTLE
Eckert's, corner Washington St. and 1st Ave.; Bishop's Drug Store, 507 Jackson St.; Pool Room, 500 Main St.; Raymer's Book Store, 906-3rd Ave.; Liberty News, 3rd and Pike.

ST. LOUIS
Floyd A. Glasby, Northside Pharmacy, 2957 Thomas St.
Newsstand at 8th and Locust.
Newsstand at 9th and Washington.
Newsstand at 4th and Locust.

TACOMA, WASH.
Cor 8th & Pacific
Amusement Center, Between 11 & 12 Sts. on Pacific.

TOLEDO
213 N. Michigan St.
Butler's Shoe Repairs, 447 Indiana Avenue.
Hill's Cleaning Shops at: 403 Indiana; 3619 Summit.
Hirsch Newsstand, 319 St., Clair.
Main Drug Store, Michigan St. and Madison Ave.

YOUNGSTOWN
Terrace Confectionery, 1947 Jacobs Road.

A check with the "Where To Buy **The Militant**" column (printed elsewhere on this page) reveals some very interesting developments.

First, practically every large city in the United States has a number of newsstands displaying and selling **The Militant**.

Secondly, the number of newsstands selling **The Militant** has more than doubled in the past six months.

This is just another indication of the ever growing popularity of our paper. We want to encourage our Militant literature agents to continue the good work they have done, and extend even further the circulation of **The Militant**.

* * *

From Philadelphia, we received this unusual anecdote: "We were distributing **The Militant** outside of one of the largest factories in Philadelphia.

"All at once our attention was attracted by some workers who were dropping a rope out of one of the windows. They shouted: 'We can't get out, so will you tie some papers to this rope and send them up to us.'"

* * *

Sam Ryan, organizer of the Bronx Branch, N. Y., writes: "One of our Bronx subscribers is a former resident of Nassau in the British West Indies. When I called on him, he had a number of friends visiting with him and introduced me to them.

"During the discussion that followed, one of his guests informed me that he too was a **Militant** subscriber, and appreciated very much the role our paper was playing in support of the colonial peoples. He told me he remembered very vividly an article in the May 19, 1945 issue of **The Militant** which called attention to the plight of these Negro workers, and gave an explanation of why the Duke of Windsor resigned from his governorship post to the Bahamas."

* * *

Louise Leslie of San Diego writes: "Am enclosing a large number of subscriptions for **The Militant.** Some of these were obtained on our Sunday mobilization.

"In addition, a number were gotten as a result of our Militant Discussion Group, a series of six weekly meetings. We are beginning another group in a few days and we are confident we'll gain additional **Militant** readers, as well as new recruits, if our first group is any criterion.

"Another important factor in helping maintain a steady stream of new subscribers is the excellent caliber of our new members who are very enthusiastic and have proven themselves to be excellent **Militant** salesmen."

* * *

From Allentown, June Carey writes: "We have been having weekly distributions at the Mack plant with excellent responses. The workers look for us each Friday, and it's a wonderful feeling to have them come over to us and discuss their union problems, remark on articles in **The Militant,** etc.

"We are making it a practice to insert a leaflet with each copy of the paper we distribute which advertises our forthcoming meeting, and where and how the reader can obtain a subscription to **The Militant,** and we expect some good results from these inserts."

* * *

Branches which are delinquent in their bundle payments might use the following plan sent in by **Eloise Gordon of the Pittsburgh branch** to help them catch up: "We have been raising quite a little money selling **The Militant** house to house in single copies, thus helping us pay our bill.

"We find this method much superior to simply giving the prospective subscriber a free copy, and when we call back, they generally take a six month or one year subscription.

"It's also an activity comrades can carry out in the area close to our headquarters, and fit into an evening when their time is limited."

IN TACOMA
Buy "The Militant"
at these stands:
9th and Pacific
Pacific bet. 12th and 13th

OUR PROGRAM:

1. Full employment and job security for all workers and veterans!

A sliding scale of hours! Reduce the hours of work with no reduction in pay!

A rising scale of wages! Increase wages to meet the increased cost of living!

Government operation of all idle and government-built plants under workers' control!

Unemployment insurance equal to trade union wages during the entire period of unemployment!

2. Independence of the trade unions from the government!

No restriction on the right to strike!

3. Organization of the war veterans by the trade unions!

4. Full equality for Negroes and national minorities!

Down with Jim Crow!

5. Build an independent labor party!

6. Tax the rich, not the poor!

No taxes on incomes under $5,000 a year!

7. A working class answer to capitalist militarism!

Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions!

Trade union wages for all workers in the armed forces!

8. Solidarity with the revolutionary struggles of the workers in all lands!

For the complete independence of the colonial peoples!

Withdraw all American troops from foreign soil!

9. For a Workers' and Farmers' Government!

Join the Socialist Workers Party!

Socialist Workers Party
116 University Place
New York 3, New York

I would like:

☐ To join the Socialist Workers Party.

☐ To obtain further information about your organization.

☐ To attend meetings and forums of the Socialist Workers Party in my city.

NAME ..... (Please Print)
STREET .....
CITY .....
POSTAL ZONE ..... STATE .....

DETROIT
Public Meeting
'The Big-Business-Govt. War On Labor —And How To Combat It'
Speaker: WILLIAM F. WARDE
Associate Editor of The Militant
Socialist Workers Party 6108 Linwood
THURSDAY, JUNE 27, 8 P.M.

'MILITANT' FUND DRIVE GOES OVER TOP; TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS REACH $15,398!

By Justine Lang
Campaign Director

$15,398.17 reached at the June 15 deadline! With our goal of $15,000 oversubscribed we can record a most successful conclusion to our three-month fund raising drive.

We are deeply grateful to our comrades in the **Socialist Workers Party**, our **Militant** readers and friends for having made the continued appearance of **The Militant** a reality. Without their devotion and enthusiastic response and support the raising of over $15,000 would not have been possible.

It was obvious right from the inception of our **Militant Sustaining Fund Drive** that our goal **could** and **would** be attained. Beginning with those branches which "jumped the gun" and sent in almost $800 ahead of the March 15 opening date, right through to the fulfillment of our quota, the momentum was maintained in true Trotskyist spirit. Our request to meet a weekly national goal of $1,000 in order to insure the final quota by June 15 was adequately supported, and for many weeks was generously oversubscribed. Sums as high as $1400 and $1500 were received during some weeks of our drive.

The period in which our **Militant Sustaining Fund Drive** took place was marked by sharp labor struggles. Our comrades in steel, auto, electric products, etc., were involved in strikes which kept them out of work for several months. However, the necessity for sustaining The **Militant** was the prime consideration. At great personal sacrifices to their families and themselves, their first consideration when they returned to work was to pay up their **Militant** pledges and obtain contributions from their fellow workers and friends.

Reports from the branches in past Militant Drive articles fully testify to the importance our readers place in **The Militant.** We have quoted their statements when approached by our comrades for contributions to **The Militant.** We rejoice with them in the knowledge that their help has guaranteed the next period's publication of the only revolutionary socialist paper in the United States.

Our concluding scoreboard reveals some very interesting developments, the most impressive being that every one of the branches, with but one exception, has either completed or oversubscribed their respective quotas. We're very very proud indeed of that achievement!

As previously predicted by the **New York Trotskyist Youth Group**, and their **Militant Fund Director Grace Wayne**, who claimed they would lead all the other branches nationally, they not only succeeded in this but attained 253 per cent of their quota.

A surprise note was struck by the achievement of the Allentown-Bethlehem branch. They climbed from twenty - fourth place in last week's scoreboard to second place nationally with a score of 162 per cent! Fine work, Allentown-Bethlehem!

Here are some notes from our mailbag for our readers:

Jeanette Kirk of Detroit: "One of our comrades who works in a UAW shop circulated two Militant Collection Lists through a section of his department in the plant. He collected a total of $7 from 33 workers and reported that not one fellow worker refused to contribute to the support of **The Militant.**

Eloise Gordon of Pittsburgh writes: "Enclosed find $7.50 payment on our **Militant** Fund quota. According to our figures, this puts us over the top.

"Since V-J Day the bulk of steel workers here have worked only a very few weeks. Nevertheless our record indicates that 60 per cent of the money we collected has been donated in rather small amounts by new party members, and the balance by friends. In the few days that remain we hope to raise more."

HOUSEWIFE GIVES $8

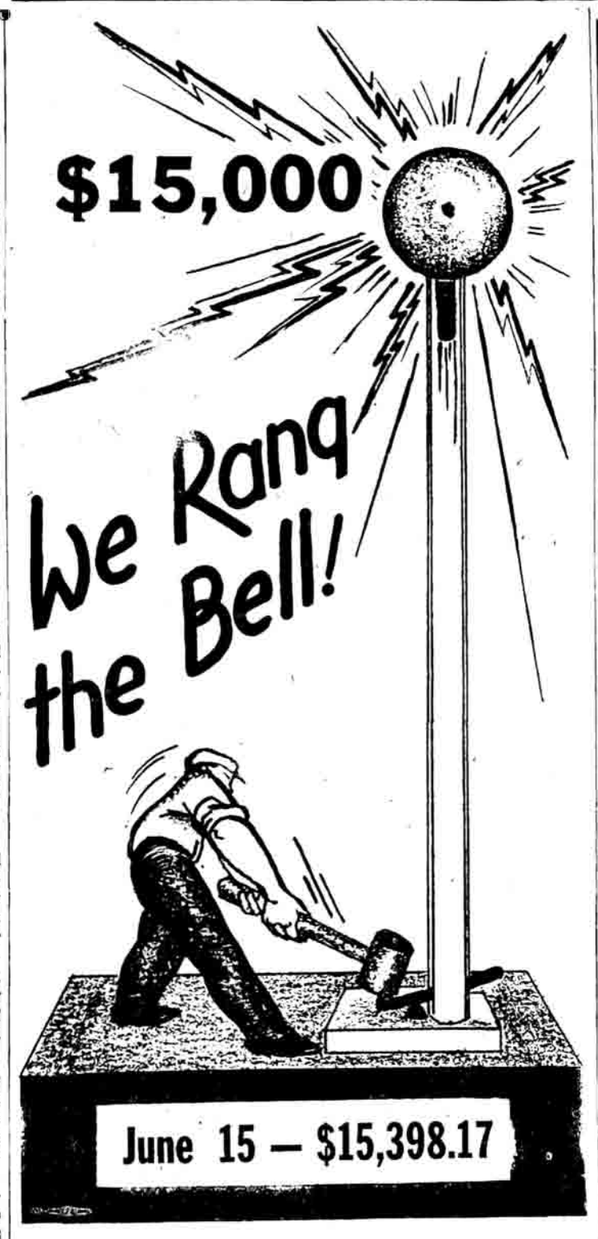
From Connecticut, Pearl Spangler sent this very interesting note: "I visited one of our readers in New Britain who is an elderly woman and told her about our activities, the Militant Sustaining Fund Drive, etc. She was quite struck by all our work, and has a great deal of confidence in the working class and the aims of our party.

"As I got ready to leave she very modestly handed me $8 and said: 'This is what I have saved out of my house allowance, and I'd like it to be used to help sustain **The Militant.**'

"One really has to be a housewife in these trying times to fully appreciate her giving us this money."

Not only have the branches of the **Socialist Workers Party** fulfilled their obligations in grand style, but the category noted as "General" winds up with 132 per cent of its quota. This category includes money sent in on the "I Want To Help" coupon from **Militant** readers all over the country, in addition to **Militant** Collection Lists circulated by our readers and friends. We want to publicly thank these countless supporters of **The Militant** for their generosity in helping us to fulfill our $15,000 goal.

Our united endeavor and effort have placed a weight of $15 398.17 on the scale. The "ringing of the bell" is indeed a most welcome sound!



SCOREBOARD

CITY	SCORE QUOTA	PAID	PER CENT
NEW YORK YOUTH	50	126.52	253
ALLENTOWN-BETHLEHEM	75	122.00	162
CINCINNATI	25	35.00	140
MILWAUKEE	100	125.55	125
PORTLAND	25	28.00	112
NEWARK	300	335.40	111
LOS ANGELES YOUTH	75	82.09	109
FLINT	100	107.00	107
SAN DIEGO	100	105.00	105
PHILADELPHIA	500	515.00	103
PITTSBURGH	100	103.00	103
TOLEDO	200	202.16	101
CHICAGO	1500	1503.00	100
SAN FRANCISCO	1000	1001.86	100
LOS ANGELES	2000	2000.50	100
YOUNGSTOWN	400	401.00	100
SEATTLE	500	501.00	100
ST. LOUIS	50	50.50	100
ROCHESTER	50	50.00	100
BALTIMORE	25	25.00	100
READING	100	100.00	100
BOSTON	400	400.00	100
CONNECTICUT	100	100.00	100
ST. PAUL	250	250.00	100
BUFFALO-LACKAWANNA	500	500.00	100
NEW YORK	3500	3500.00	100
MINNEAPOLIS	500	500.00	100
PHILADELPHIA YOUTH	25	25.00	100
AKRON	300	300.00	100
CLEVELAND	250	250.00	100
DETROIT	1250	1250.00	100
Bayonne	75	43.50	58
GENERAL	575	760.09	132
TOTAL	15000	15398.17	103

Doolittle Report Attacked By Caste-System Defender

By George Breitman

Last month the Doolittle Board issued a report recommending the elimination of some of the differences in living conditions and privileges between officers and enlisted men. The War Department, which had appointed the Board, shrugged its shoulders in contempt when the report was issued.

Now Hanson W. Baldwin, military editor of the **N. Y. Times** and unofficial spokesman for the big brass, has come out with a blistering attack charging that adoption of the Doolittle Board's report would turn the Army into "an armed mob."

The Board had favored among other things "social fraternization" between officers and enlisted men, and had discussed without recommendation possible abolition of the "official gap or line of demarcation between the so-called officer and enlisted groups."

"These are dangerous suggestions," Baldwin shrieked on June 12. " . . . An officer corps must be the heart and soul of any army. Abolish it, minimize its importance, try to merge it with enlisted ranks and you have no army."

To prove this point, Baldwin refers to historical precedent—the Red Army. Since this same point is made in the Doolittle report, and was recently emphasized in articles by officers in **Collier's** and the **Saturday Evening Post**, it is worth examining here:

"The Russians tried it, and for years there were no titles, no real badges of rank, no salutes and no distinction between officer and enlisted man in the Red Army," Baldwin continues. "These regulations and the political commissars made the prewar Russian Army an armed mob and cost Russia dearly in the first Finnish campaign and in the first years of the struggle against Germany."

It is time this widely spread myth was punctured. The Red Army regulations abolishing the privileges of the officers had nothing whatever to do with the results in the Finnish war. That war took place in 1939-40. But the regulations referred to with such horror by Baldwin were **rescinded** as far back as 1935, when the reactionary Stalin bureaucracy restored the officer corps, and all the special officer privileges and rank which Baldwin thinks is so necessary for an army.

When the Red Army went into the second world war, it was hard to distinguish, so far as officer-enlisted men regulations were concerned, between it and the U. S. or German armies. And yet it suffered serious defeats in the first stage of the war.

Can't Baldwin's historical example thus be turned against him? For in the Red Army's early days, under Lenin and Trotsky, when it was the most democratic army and had the highest morale in the world, this army succeeded in defeating the efforts of all the imperialist armies to destroy the Russian Revolution.

THE USE OF RANK

How can you have an effective army when you remove these "incentives to leadership," that is, officer privileges, Baldwin demands? Leon Trotsky, founder of the Red Army, answered this question 10 years ago when he denounced Stalin's restoration of the officer corps:

"The restoration of hierarchical caste is not in the least demanded by the interests of military affairs. It is the commanding position, and not the rank, of the commander that is important. Engineers and physicians have no rank, but society finds the means of putting each in his needful place.

"The right to a commanding position is guaranteed by study, endowment, character, experience, which need continual and moreover individual appraisal. The rank of major adds nothing to the commander of a battalion. The elevation of the five senior commanders of the Red Army to the title of marshal gives them neither new talents nor supplementary powers.

"It is not the army that really thus receives a "stable basis,' but the officers' corps, and that at the price of aloofness from the army. The reform pursues a purely political aim: to give a new social weight to the officers . . . " (**The Revolution Betrayed**, Pioneer Publishers.)

CHICAGO
Socialist Workers Party
Presents
Cabaret Internationale
Dancing, Entertainment
6-act Floor Show
(*beginning at* 10:30 *P.M.*)
Saturday, June 29
777 West Adams St.

It's A Crazy World!

By Grace Carlson

Up to the first of this year, neuropsychiatric disorders have hospitalized 850,000 World War II soldiers. This was the startling report which the members of the American Psychiatric Association heard last month from the Army's chief of Psychiatry, Brigadier General William Menninger.

Another 500,000 men were discharged from the Army for "personality disturbances" of all types, said Dr. Menninger. All of these neuropsychiatric casualties occurred despite the Army's elaborate "screening - out" process. Approximately 1,875,000 men were rejected for military service because of personality disorders of one kind or another, Dr. Menninger reported.

But it is not only among the military that mental disease is a serious problem. United States Surgeon General Thomas Parran estimated recently that eight million persons in this country—more than six percent of the population—are suffering from some form of mental disorder. There are more beds in hospitals for nervous and mental patients, than in all other hospitals. And mental disease is on the increase!

These are tragic facts, but not too surprising when one considers the state of the world—the world in which human beings are trying to adjust. It's a crazy world that the capitalist lords of the earth have built for us!

CONSTANT PROOF

It's not difficult to prove that this is a crazy world. Every issue of **The Militant** offers more proof of capitalist insanity. Even the capitalist press is sometimes forced to comment on the irrational character of this social system.

Such an article appeared in the May 30 issue of the **St. Paul Dispatch.** This was a report on the "alarming increase" in the number of suicides since V-J Day, and the **Dispatch** writer speaks of the irony of the fact that the end of the war should make life seem les worthwhile to thousands of American men and women.

Pointing out that the end of the war brought "a sharp cutback in industrial activity and a consequent reduction in employment," the **Dispatch** article goes on to show that economic factors always play a very important part in determining the level of the suicide rate.

Just the opposite trend was observed after the United States entered World War II. In a late 1942 bulletin, the Metropolitan Insurance Company reported on the sharp drop in suicides since Pearl Harbor and called this "a beneficial by-product of war." The number of annual suicides during the war was only half of what it was in 1932-33 during the depths of the depression.

There is the crazy picture! War with its awful weight of suffering and sorrow stays the hands of thousands of individuals bent on self-destruction. But Peace—Blessed Peace? In its times of Peace, the dying capitalist system is wracked by financial crises, depressions and colossal unemployment problems. As a result, thousands of cold, sick, hungry workers are driven to suicide each year.

If one did not foresee a socialist solution to all of these problems, it would be easy to lose one's mental balance in the midst of such contradictory and bewildering facts. The capitalists like to make fun of us and call us "crazy radicals." But the shoe is really on the other foot! They are the ones who are operating this madhouse of capitalism.

Labor Unity In Political Field Sought By Akron CIO Council

(Special To The Militant)

AKRON, O., June 11—Further steps toward a solid front of Akron labor against political attack were taken at last night's meeting of the Akron CIO Council. The Council adopted a motion to appoint a committee to cooperate in the political field with the AFL and Railroad Brotherhoods, after a committee from the rail unions appeared at the meeting and made a strong appeal for labor unity.

"We've been in a shell for many years," the delegate from the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen said, "but now we're coming out."

"We thought we didn't need anybody," he continued. "We found out we need everybody. That is why we started this move to unite labor in Akron."

During the week the AFL Trades and Labor Council took a similar step and established a committee to work with the CIO and Railroad Trainmen. A meeting is scheduled tomorrow for representatives of the three labor organizations.

The CIO Council meeting revealed a growing bitterness against the maltreatment of labor by Washington politicians, and an almost unanimous conviction that the time is rapidly approaching when labor would have to build a party of its own.

The discussion on a labor party took place over the attitude of the council toward Democratic Congressman Walter Huber of this area, who voted for Truman's slave-labor bill. A communication from Huber explaining his stand, and replying to a request that he appear before the Council to explain himself, touched off the debate.

In opposing the acceptance of the communication, delegate Jules Geller, of Goodrich Rubber Local 5, said:

"It's necessary for us to learn a lesson from the action of Congressman Huber. Why did he vote for Truman's bill? Because the Democratic Party machine cracked the whip, and Huber jumped. We need our own independent party, and our own party machine.

"When will it be time to build a Labor Party?" Geller asked. "When all the anti-labor legislation is on the books—when inflation has brought starvation to this country—when labor is cut to pieces . . . when the labor movement is flat on its back? No, we need a labor party now!"

Replying to Geller, I. H. Watson, president of Firestone Rubber Local 7, said: "We must plan this new labor party. We must learn to crawl before we can walk. We're playing right into the Republicans' hands if we take any action against Huber now."

"I agree," Watson continued, "that we need a Labor Party. But we cannot go off half-cocked. We must plan carefully."

Many delegates took the floor on both sides of the question. The majority voted to accept Huber's communication, and thereby indicated that while they were for labor party action, they were not prepared for immediate steps.

Paul Fessenden, Executive Secretary of the Council, announced that Congressman Huber has promised to appear before the Council to explain his vote for Truman's bill.

The spirited discussion was a living expression of the growing sentiment in American labor for independent political action.

Mich. CIO Condemns Assaults On Unionists

(Special to The Militant)

DETROIT, June 13. — The Michigan State CIO convention, held here June 10-13, endorsed a resolution of Briggs Local 212, CIO United Auto Workers, condemning the series of gangster assaults upon prominent leaders and militants of Local 212 during the past year and a half.

The resolution referred to five beatings by unknown thugs of Local 212 members active in the fight against the union-busting Briggs Corporation. The most recent assault took place two weeks ago, when Local 212 recording secretary Ken Morris was slugged and seriously injured outside his home just after his return from the union hall. Briggs corporation has been fighting the union savagely and a strike has been voted to back up Local 212 demands in current negotiations.

The resolution pledges "full support of the Michigan CIO Council to Local 212 and the International Union, UAW - CIO, in their efforts to apprehend the guilty parties."

Buffalo Readers

Our Saturday Njght Current Discussion Group and Open House have been discontinued for the summer months. Watch **The Militant** for notice of meetings in Buffalo. Visit the **Militant Forum, 629 Main St.**, any afternoon except Sunday.

The Value of Labor Power

By V. Grey

Your labor power is your SELF. It is your muscle, bone, and mind. Under capitalism it is a **commodity.** It is the only commodity you own. Your clothing, your car, your groceries, were once some capitalist's commodities. Now they are your useful possessions. And being second-hand now you could not sell them for very much—even if you wanted to. They are no longer commodities.

Your labor power is the only thing you have to sell. The **products** of your labor are not your own. They belong to the capitalist who employs you in the factory.

You sell your labor power for so much week and so much an hour. This selling price is called "wages." Wages are always paid in money. This helps to conceal the difference between what you produce and what you get. It's harder to see that you are giving the company so much unpaid labor every day.

How is the selling price of labor power determined? "Why, the union bargains for my wages," you might say. But in many shops no union exists. Moreover there was a certain wage level before the union was organized. And even today the union's bargaining centers around a definite amount called a "living wage."

People's idea of a good selling price for labor power is their idea of a good "living wage." That is to say what they can live on. The wages which will buy them and their families enough food, clothing and shelter to get by decently.

And what is this food, clothing and shelter for the laborer? It is the cost of production of his labor power. His labor power cannot be useful and available for work without these necessities of life. And the value of these necessities is the value of his labor power.

How do we determine the value of the food, clothing etc.? By the amount of labor it takes to produce them. And so we find that the VALUE OF LABOR POWER IS DETERMINED BY THE AVERAGE AMOUNT OF LABOR NECESSARY TO PRODUCE THIS LABOR POWER. Like all other commodities, labor power obeys the same law of value.

But the commodity—LABOR POWER (the laborer)—does not drop from heaven with a rivet gun in hand. This commodity must be produced from the cradle to the factory gate as well. So the capitalist pays the laborer enough to bring up a family. Not because the capitalist loves his workers' children, but because these children must be reasonably strong and healthy when they bring their labor power to market.

As Karl Marx says, "The value of labor-power is determined, as in the case of every other commodity, by the labor time necessary for its production, and consequently also, the reproduction, of this special article."

If it takes 20 hours labor to produce the food, clothing, shelter, etc., for a working-class family to live then the values that you produce in 20 hours will be the value of your labor power, and approximately the same as your wages.

In other words, if you had the opportunity of exchanging what you produced in the factory with all the other factory workers in the world, you'd find that you'd produced your own wages in 20 hours.

However, you are working for the capitalist and not for yourself. Thanks to the labor of your fathers, he has huge machinery and factories with which he employs you in making values—in 40 hours, or 50 hours, not 20. And he keeps the change.

According to the law of the land you and he are—equals. You sell your labor power. He buys it. You sell it according to how much labor it takes to produce it. You sell it for enough to keep it alive. He buys it, and like all buyers, consumes what he has bought.

"To the purchaser of a commodity belongs its use. From the instant the worker steps into the workshop, the use value of his labor power, and therefore also its use—which is labor—belongs to the capitalists."—Marx.

Value for value is given in the market. Equals exchange for equals. All is perfectly legal in this exchange. But the market-place is only the most temporary stopover for the laborer and his precious product, which is HIMSELF. His free and equal bargain with the employment manager is quickly sealed, his product sold, and he has to keep delivering for a long time after.

There is a change from equality to inequality. It takes place after the bargain is sealed. Marx describes the change thus:

"He who before was the money owner, now strides in front as capitalist; the possessor of labor power follows as his laborer. The one with an air of importance, smirking—intent on business; the other timid, and holding back, like one who is bringing his own hide to market and has nothing to expect but—a hiding."

Next Week: Labor Power and Productive Labor

Vacation At Mid-West Camp And School

As June 30, opening date of the season at Mid-West Vacation Camp and School draws near, reservations for the popular vacation spot are coming in. Workers who already know the cheerful camp on Little Pleasant Lake, near Jackson, Michigan, are making plans to return. Their enthusiasm is typified by a letter which **The Militant** received from Patrick O'Conner of Akron last summer:

"I feel it a privilege to inform friends and comrades of the opportunities there," he wrote. "The teachers were excellent, and needless to say, there was none of the condescending attitude found in the capitalist schools . . . There is plenty of time for recreation such as swimming, boating, fishing, baseball, badminton, table tennis, and dancing . . . In fact, I'm very reluctant to give you all the virtues of the camp for fear that it will be swamped with reservations, thus eliminating my own possible return."

There are ample accommodations, but those who plan to attend are urged to make reservations in advance. Many new friends are expected this summer, for the fame of Mid-West Vacation Camp and School is growing. It is an ideal spot in which to relax, have fun, and at the same time, take advantage of the excellent outdoor classes in Marxism and problems of the trade union movement. Because the camp is operated on a cooperative basis, rates are amazingly low.

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How Fatal Clues Exposed Frameup In First Notorious Moscow Trial

By Joseph Hansen

(The fifth of a series on the Moscow Frameup Trials and their significance. Declarations of defendants and prosecutor are quoted from the English edition of the "Report of Court Proceedings; The Case of the Trotskyite-Zinovievite Terrorist Centre" published by Stalin.)

The mechanism of the Zinoviev-Kamenev-Smirnov frameup was exceedingly simple. Stalin set up a cross-fire on Leon Trotsky. First, the frameup maintained that the revolutionary exile had transmitted terrorist directives to the most prominent defendants through contact men.

This primitive device would seem sufficient to smear both Trotsky and the prisoners in the dock. Stalin, however, apparently thought that adding more lies would strengthen the frameup, and so he opened up on Trotsky from another angle. A few obscure GPU agents sat in the trial as defendants. These sad, unsavory figures posed as direct agents of Trotsky.

RIDICULOUS CLAIM

They claimed that in private conversation Trotsky had declared: "Now there is no other way out except the removal by violence of Stalin and his adherents. Terror against Stalin — that is the revolutionary task . . . Stalin must be physically destroyed." With such bloodthirsty directives, which a cloak and dagger villain in a comic strip would scarcely utter but which coincided perfectly with Stalin's political needs, Trotsky allegedly hustled these agents into the USSR to organize terroristic acts on their own.

Hence the frameup maintained that Trotsky had sent agents through the tightly sealed borders entrusted with two missions (1) instructions to Zinoviev, Kamenev and Smirnov to kill Stalin, etc., (2) instructions to bump off Stalin, etc., themselves.

In the case of Smirnov, Stalin made a combination. Smirnov was alleged to have received terrorist orders directly from Trotsky's son, Sedov, in Berlin in 1931. Then the following year Smirnov "received direct instructions from Trotsky through Yuri Gaven." Contact man Gaven was neither a defendant nor witness at the trial. The "instructions" he brought were nothing but a figment of GPU imagination. Nevertheless, Smirnov was charged with having organized a "united centre of the Trotskyite Zinovievite terrorist organization . . . on the basis of Trotsky's instructions which he received in 1931."

ARABIAN NIGHTS

To clinch the connection between Smirnov and Trotsky, the prosecutor Vyshinsky added: "You also received the instruction from Dreitzer, not personally, but I am deeply convinced that you knew about it notwithstanding the fact that you were in a house of detention for political offenders." And then just for good measure Vyshinsky accused Smirnov of having "a secret code for correspondence with Trotsky, for which purpose certain pages from the **Arabian Nights** were used."

Unfortunately for Stalin even this simple mudslinging machine could not be operated without a little grease in the form of "evidence." Here he faced a dilemma, for there is nothing more dangerous in a frameup than evidence. Consequently Stalin cooked up an ersatz product—"confessions." These "confessions" were one of the most spectacular features of the trial, but they only served to expose the frameup.

Thus the miserable GPU agents who "confessed" that Trotsky sent them to physically destroy Stalin succeeded in nothing but casting ridicule on the ingenuity of the GPU scenario writers. Not one of these "certified murderers" carried out a single attempt. Not one was seized in an attempt. No evidence whatsoever was produced to show they even made an attempt. The entire case against them boiled down to their unsupported assertions that they did try.

I. N. SMIRNOV

Smirnov, one of the heroes of the October 1917 revolution and the Civil War, was known as the "Lenin of Siberia." Trotsky, founder of the Red Army, said of him: "He was with me in the Fifth Army. He led the Forces in Siberia. He organized and insured the victory against Admiral Kolchak."

When Stalin set out to seize power, Smirnov joined Trotsky in battling this new threat to the October conquests. But in November 1929, Smirnov capitulated to Stalin.

However, this did not save Smirnov. In August 1936 Stalin ordered him shot as a fascist "dog gone mad."

For instance, Berman-Yurin and Fritz David, according to the frameup, "drew up two concrete plans for attempts on the life of Stalin; the first was to be made at the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I., the second at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern. Both plans failed, because Comrade Stalin did not attend the Thirteenth Plenum, while only Fritz David was able to get into the Congress of the Comintern, since he had failed to obtain a ticket for Berman-Yurin. Fritz David, according to his statement, was unable to commit the terroristic act because it was impossible to get near Comrade Stalin." Resolute bandits!

V. P. Olberg was likewise sent by Trotsky, according to the frameup "to prepare and carry out the assassination of Comrade Stalin." Olberg entered the USSR in March 1933, "lived secretly in Moscow for six weeks, and then went to Stalinabad where he obtained a position as teacher of history. As he had no documents regarding military service, he was obliged to return abroad." Too bad!

Two years later Olberg again entered the USSR. It was July 1935, some four months after Kirov's death, when the great mass purges were already under way. "This visit was also fruitless because he had a tourist visa, could not stay long, and had to return to Germany after a few days." Try again!

Once more in July 1935 this indomitable terrorist entered the Soviet Union "to draw up the plan for the attempt at assassination. The terroristic act was to have been committed in Moscow on May 1, 1936." Plugging away at his task with exemplary zeal, Olberg went to Minsk and then to Gorky. "He soon obtained employment in the Gorky Pedagogical Institute, where he remained until his arrest."

As the sole piece of tangible "evidence" in support of the "confessions" of these rabid "terrorists," Vyshinsky triumphantly produced a passport which Olberg like many another Nazi refugee had bought in Prague from the Honduran consulate. "It really was issued by a real consul in the name of the Republic of Honduras," confessed Olberg. "There is such a republic in Central America." In payment for his "confession" Olberg was shot as an "incorrigible and hardened" murderer.

Most of these alleged "emissaries" were utterly unknown to anyone outside the GPU. Those whose movements in other countries could be checked at all turned out to be Stalinists. Thus the attempt to link these "dogs gone mad" with Trotsky collapsed completely.

To tighten the link between the alleged "terrorist centre" in the Soviet Union and the great revolutionary in exile, the frameup called for letters signed by Trotsky. The prosecution listed five. All but one of these letters had miraculously been destroyed or vanished. Consequently the sole "evidence" of their reality lay in the "confessions" of the defendants. These "confessions" in turn were filled with fantastic contradictions.

Even in the case of the letter that Vyshinsky did submit as an "exhibit" a fatal contradiction exposed the gears of the frameup machinery. Holtzman confessed: "Yes, Trotsky could not put it in writing, and so I accepted it in verbal form and communicated the exact sense of it on my arrival in Moscow." From this "confession" Vyshinsky drew the following conclusion: "That is why in March 1932, in a fit of counter-revolutionary fury, Trotsky burst out in an open letter with an appeal to 'put Stalin out of the way' (this letter was found between the double walls of Holtzman's suitcase and figured as an exhibit in this case)." Thus it appeared that Holtzman carried Trotsky's unwritten instructions in "verbal form" in the secret bottom of his suitcase!

This letter, however, turned out to be a public letter addressed by Trotsky to the Soviet authorities and published in the press throughout the world. The "appeal 'to put Stalin out of the way'" was simply a reference to Lenin's famous testament of 1923 calling on the Bolsheviks to "remove Stalin" from his post of General Secretary!

Thus the attempt to link up the defendants with Trotsky and smear both through fictitious letters demanding terrorism crashed likewise to the ground.

Since the "evidence" furnished by Stalin consisted solely of the "confessions" of individuals, the frameup rested on exceedingly unstable props. A single one of these individuals could expose the monstrous falsity of the confessions. Answers to questions asked by a competent newspaper reporter, for instance, would prove disastrous. If the defendants lived, world public opinion would inevitably place enormous pressure on the Stalinist authorities to let a fair-minded international figure or impartial commission put questions to them. Even walled up in prison, their conversations with other political prisoners could seep out of the Soviet Union and blow up the frameup. In Stalin's eyes, consequently, these individuals constituted the most terrible evidence of the frameup.

RUSHED TO DEATH CELLS

The compulsion to destroy this living evidence of the crime was irresistible, especially since it coincided with Stalin's political aim of destroying Lenin's generation of revolutionaries. Stalin rushed the men who had "confessed" to the death cells of the Lubianka prison. Dead men tell no tales.

But the defendants had already said more than enough. The weakest link in the chain of lies proved to be the alleged visits of the contact men with Trotsky. For these alleged visits occurred outside the Soviet Union and no matter how the prosecutor avoided questioning the defendants, still some of their assertions were subject to verification by people not controlled by the GPU.

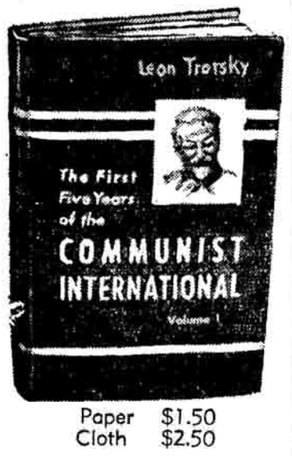
Holtzman, for instance, testified that in November 1932 he met Sedov in the "lounge" of the Hotel Bristol in Copenhagen and was taken by him to meet Trotsky and receive terrorist instructions. The GPU thus attempted to utilize Trotsky's 1932 visit to Copenhagen where he lectured in defense of the Soviet Union.

Holtzman did not name the day, the street, or the address at which he met Trotsky. Everything was left completely and conveniently vague. But Holtzman's few words made history.

PROOF OF FRAMEUP

It was proved by documentary evidence that Sedov was not in Copenhagen at all during Trotsky's stay. He tried to get into Denmark to visit his parents, but the authorities wouldn't grant permission. It was proved conclusively that Holtzman was not among the people who visited Trotsky and his wife, their friends and guards in Copenhagen. But still more devastating, the Hotel Bristol had been torn down in 1917! It was not rebuilt until 1936.

The non-existent "lounge" in the non-existent "Hotel Bristol" where Holtzman in Copenhagen met Sedov who was in Berlin proved as devastating to the frameup as the explosion of an atomic bomb. From then on the entire thinking public recognized the words "Moscow Trial" as synonomous with "Stalinist frameup."



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AFL Seamen Cheer Strike Vote

Members of the Seafarers International Union and Sailors Union of the Pacific (both AFL) cheer as machinery is set up for strike vote. They also sent a wire to Truman warning that use of Navy, Coast Guard, or War Shipping Administration personnel against the CIO-National Maritime Workers strike would be considered strikebreaking.

Federated Press

STALINIST SLANDER MACHINE AND THE NUREMBERG TRIAL

The Stalinists follow a propaganda technique perfected by the Nazis. They smear a political opponent with the most monstrous slander possible and then repeat the lie like a needle stuck on a phonograph record.

The June 13 **Daily Worker** thus rattles off once more the long-ago-exploded frameup accusation that Trotsky "made a deal with the Nazis to help overthrow the Soviet government."

The Stalinist poison pen hacks did not repeat the old lie that this alleged "deal" was made through **Hess.** And for good reason.

Hess is now on trial at Nuremburg as a war criminal. The Stalinist prosecution has had full opportunity to question Hess and to dig up any "exhibits" out of Nazi files that might substantiate Stalin's slanderous charge. But the Stalinist prosecution has not asked Hess or the other Nazi leaders one single question about this "deal." In fact during the long months of the trial the Stalinists have not even breathed Trotsky's name!

This is the reason for the delicate touch in the **Daily Worker's** latest serving of ancient garbage. They carefully blue-pencilled any mention of Hess. It is not for the hatchetmen on Foster's payroll to embarrass the Stalinist prosecution at Nuremburg!

Maritime Strike Called Off; CIO Seamen Gain Concessions

(Continued from Page 1)

sea to remain, with $1 per hour overtime for the eight hours on Sunday in excess of a 48-hour week; a 40-hour week in port; continued negotiations of other issues for 30 days, followed by arbitration.

2.—For west coast longshoremen—a 22-cent hourly increase retroactive to October 1, 1945; an estimated $6,000,000 to $8,000,000 in retroactive pay still due under a WLB order of August 1945 to be paid by September 30.

3.—For radio operators — a $17.50 monthly increase; overtime for Sunday work; arbitration of a new overtime rate and for an additional man on freighters.

4.—For engineers — overtime for Sundays at sea; 40-hour week in port.

IMPORTANT CONCESSION

The most important concession for unlicensed seamen was the cracking of the 56-hour week, which the ship operators had been determined to continue without overtime. Overtime for Sunday at sea was a last-minute compromise proposal of the War Shipping Administration which the operators finally accepted just before the strike deadline.

Although the Stalinist leaders of the Committee for Maritime Unity were ready to settle for far less, the final larger concessions were won by the pressure of the ranks. This is shown by a summary of events preceding the settlement.

The Stalinist leadership of the CIO National Maritime Union proposed to accept an offer of $12.50 a month increase. The NMU members revolted against acceptance.

Truman countered with a threat to use government armed forces to smash any strike.

An aroused labor movement rose to the defense of the threatened maritime workers. Especially effective was the threat by the AFL maritime unions to strike all ships under AFL contract if the government attempted to man CIO-struck vessels.

INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT

French, Australian, New Zealand, Latin American and other maritime workers, acting through the World Federation of Trade Unions, pledged international solidarity and complete support to the American seamen.

Powerful sentiment for strike action swept all groups of maritime and waterfront workers. This forced Joseph Ryan, dictator-president of the AFL longshoremen, and other AFL leaders to reverse their open boast to scab on the threatened CIO strike.

Under pressure of the strike threat, a congressional committee began an investigation of the dispute. This entailed a risk to the operators and War Shipping Administration of exposure of some of their graft.

CIO President Murray conferred secretly with Truman and then intervened in negotiations with the intent of blocking strike action. He used his prestige to force acceptance of the government's final terms. These gave better conditons to the seamen, but nothing more to the longshoremen.

Anxious to find a pretext for calling off the strike, the Stalinist leaders of the Committee for Maritime Unity seized upon Murray's intervention as an opportunity to settle.

But this settlement only postpones the showdown between the maritime unions and the government. Seamen face further negotiations on important changes and clarifications of working rules. These negotiations are being conducted currently by both AFL and CIO maritime unions.

By September 30, wages will be up for review. Once more the maritime workers will confront the question of strike. CIO Longshoremen's President Harry Bridges has already threatened such action, because he had to go back to the west coast with the previously-rejected wage offer.

By September 30, also, growing unemployment will increase the need for a basic change in working conditions, providing for the four-watch system so as to reduce the work-week for seamen and put more men on the job.

COMING STRUGGLES

The coming struggles will be bitter. They will demand the greatest unity in action of all maritime workers, regardless of affiliation.

Every seaman would like to have one solid union. But because of the obstacles raised by both the Stalinist CIO leaders and the AFL leadership, organizational unity is not in the cards right now.

But unity in action against the common foe and for immediate defense of the seamen's interests is imperative and can be achieved. That is what **The Militant** proposed last week in calling for a Joint Strike Coordination Committee of the CIO and AFL maritime unions. The gains just won by seamen were made possible largely due to the extent that the AFL unions were read to support the CIO strike.

31 Negroes Face Frame-Up In Tennessee

(Continued from Page 1)

dent to commute every day to Columbia from Nashville, some 50 miles away. Newspaper reporters have been advised to stay away and are very scarce.

While this mass frame-up is going on, not a single white hoodlum who participated in the February armed assaults upon the defenseless Negro population, has been arrested and indicted. No action has been taken against the two officers of the "law" who shot two jailed Negroes to death in cold blood. The native fascists who marked a large KKK on a casket in a Negro undertaking establishment are at large and continuing their sinister work of inspiring a lynch atmosphere.

So vicious is the atmosphere, that Thurgood Marshall, heading the NAACP defense counsel, is preparing to ask for a change of venue for the trial.

SAINT PAUL
Strawberry Festival
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Thursday afternoon, July 4
Strawberry Shortcake
Refreshments
Highway 61 to White Bear, then follow arrows to SWP Strawberry Festival
or call GA 1137 for transportation
MILITANT READERS WELCOME

The NEGRO STRUGGLE

"Labor with a white skin cannot emancipate itself where labor with a black skin is branded."
—KARL MARX

by CHARLES JACKSON

A New Wind In The South

One of the most significant facts about the 37th annual conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, to be held in Cincinnati June 26-30, is that its delegations will reflect a great growth in the organization's membership in the South. The NAACP claims an increase from 200,000 to 500,000 members in the last year; the majority of these members, and the majority of the new branches, are from the South.

The importance of this development cannot be overestimated. There is a new wind blowing in the South.

Negroes there are beginning to show resistance to the attacks on them. Veterans returning from overseas don't intend to be treated as second-class citizens. Even older Negroes—who at one time tended to accept the situation as hopeless—are beginning to move. Negro workers are joining the unions despite terror and brutality aimed primarily at them. Negroes are coming forward in increasing numbers to take the risk of voting; to assert their right to sit on juries; to challenge the Jim Crow laws.

While not so plain, these developments indicate something else. There must be a strong transformation taking place in the thinking of the South as a whole. The Negro people there would be unable to take the steps already taken unless they saw some indications of this kind, unless they knew that there was some possibility of support from the rest of the population. A considerable section of the southern white workers must be in the process of changing its concepts about Jim Crow. Evidence of this is not yet at hand, but we can be sure that we will see some in the very near future.

This means that the Negro workers and other opponents of Jim Crow in the north are being joined in the struggle against discrimination and segregation. This is going to work a veritable revolution inside some of the existing organizations. We should follow this development closely in the next period—it will have the most profound bearing on the Negro Struggle.

• • •

Both Need Investigation

The House Un-American Activities Committee, notorious for its witch-hunts against labor and liberal groups, voted five to one on May 29 against investigation of the activities of the Ku Klux Klan. Its motion, made public on June 13, stated there is "not enough evidence" to warrant a probe of the KKK.

This committee has needed very little evidence indeed to pry into the affairs of labor and liberal organizations, commandeer records of agencies sending relief to European workers, slander and smear any and all persons of even the mildest liberal views.

What evidence does this committee need of the growing anti-Negro, anti-labor, anti-Jewish terroristic activities of the fascist-like hooded Klansmen?

In Georgia, on June 7, Assistant Attorney General Dan Duke, assigned to investigate the KKK, charged the Klan with the midnight flogging of a 21-year-old Negro Navy veteran.

In Los Angeles, the Klan has burned crosses before the homes of Negro residents and spread its threats of vigilante violence against racial and religious minorities.

In Freeport, N. Y., a hot-bed of Klan organization, two Negro brothers, veterans, were shot to death by a race-hating cop, who stil swings his club on his beat because of Klan and other similar influences.

Right now, down in Columbia, Tenn., the Klan is riding again, whipping up the lynch mobs against 31 Negroes facing a frame-up charge of "attempting to commit murder." Throughout the South, not only Negroes, but white union organizers are in danger of their lives as Southern employers and their governmnet agents give tacit or open support to the Klan terrorists.

There is plenty of evidence about the Klan's activities. But the House Un-American Activities Committee is motivated by the same hatred of Negroes, religious minorities and labor as the Klan. It is obvious that the majority of the committee look with favor upon the Klan's ideas and actions.

Indeed, what seriously needs investigating is: What direct connections do members of the House Un-American Activities Committee themselves have with the Klan?

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The above two items are contributions from readers. This column always welcomes such contributions.—C. J.

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The Socialist Workers Party

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LOS ANGELES—Visit Militant Publishing Assn., 316½ W. Pico Blvd. Open daily, 12 noon to 5 p.m. Phone Richmond 4644.

SAN PEDRO, Militant Publishing Assn., 1008 S. Pacific, Room 214.

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Sat., 4:30 p.m., Tues., 7:30, rehearsal of Militant chorus.
Wednesdays at 8:—'Atomic Age' speaker John G. Wright.
HARLEM: 103 W. 110 St., Rm. 23. MO. 2-1866.
BRONX: 1034 Prospect Ave., 1st floor, phone TI 2-0101.
Reading room open Mon. to Fri., 7 to 10 p.m.
Current events discussion, Fridays at 8.
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Mon. Class — "Program of SWP," 7 p.m.
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YORKVILLE: Discussion Group, meets at Czech Worker's Center, 347 E. 72 St. Wednesday, 8 p.m.

OAKLAND, Cal.—Meetings Wednesday, Odd Fellows Temple, 410 - 11th St. For information write to P.O. Box 1351

PHILADELPHIA — SWP Headquarters, 1303-05 W. Girard Ave., 2nd floor. Open daily. Friday forum, 8 p.m. Phone Stevenson 5820.

PITTSBURGH—Militant Reading Room, 141 S. Highland, Room 21 (corner Highland and Central Ave.). E. Liberty. Phone, EM. 4899. Open Monday, Wednesday, Friday, 6:30 to 9:30. Sat. 2-6.
Sundays at 8. "Militant Discussion."

PORTLAND, Ore. — Visit the SWP headquarters, 134 S. W. Washington, 3rd Floor. Tel ATwater 3992. Open 1 to 4 p.m., daily except Sunday, and 6 to 8, Tuesday, Friday.
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SAN DIEGO—P. O. Box 857.

SAN FRANCISCO — Visit the San Francisco School of Social Science, 305 Grant Ave., corner of Grant and Sutter, 4th floor: open from 12 noon to 3 p.m., Monday through Saturday, and 7 to 9 p.m. Monday through Friday.

SEATTLE—Visit our Headquarters, 119½ Second Ave. Open Saturdays 12 to 5, Sunday 7:30 to 10, Wednesday 7:30 to 10.
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ST. LOUIS—Visit our Headquarters, 1023 N. Grand Blvd., Rm. 312, open Monday, Wednesday, Friday, 7:30 to 9 p.m. Forums every Thursday, 8:30 p.m. Phone Jefferson 3642.

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Diary Of A Steel Worker

The Carnival On Ames Street

By Theodore Kovalesky

The Bingo man hollered in his brassy monotone, "Don't go away. The next game is about to begin. This may be your lucky game." We saw Pete Rossi's wife cast a wistful glance at the assorted piles of dishes, electric coffee percolators, little rugs, lamps, and Indian blankets that lined the interior of the Bingo booth, and take her place on the bench in the hope that this was her lucky game.

Not far away, Pete was goading Gus Miller to try to "ring the bell and get a cigar."

"What the hell!" Gus protested. "I swing a sledge every day in the plant. What do I want to be hitting that damn thing for when I get a night out?"

"Aw, what are you afraid of?" Pete said. "You won't strain yourself. Bet you a beer I can hit it higher than you can."

Gus took the hammer and swung hard. The weight sailed up . . . halfway to the bell and dropped down.

"Okay, Sandow," said Pete, picking up the sledge hammer. With a great show of winding up, he swung the hammer over his head, slamming it down with all his strength. Once more the weight sailed up toward the bell, but halfway it came to a stop and plummeted down.

"Well, I'll be damned!" Pete said.

Gus grinned smugly. "I guess the beer's on you."

"What do you mean? I hit it farther."

Still arguing Gus and Pete started off for the beer. Mary looked at the hammer and at me.

"Oh, no," I said, and we walked on. "There's a trick to that anyway," I told her.

We met Jimmy and his wife leaning on a wooden railing around a square wooden board that had numbers painted all over the surface. Jimmy was leaning over as far as he could, pitching pennies onto the board, attempting to drop them on the numbers or the little green triangles marked "Jackpot." But the pennies bounced uncontrollably, and Jimmy threw away a quarter's worth without winning anything

Lining the side of the carnival were more booths, places where you threw baseballs at dolls, milk bottles, or tenpins, where you sailed darts at numbered targets, or pitched hoops at pegs of varying sizes.

At one end a ferris wheel and a little portable merry-go-round, both brightly lighted, spun round and round to the squeaking and wheezing of a calliope that played "Annie Laurie" like an Italian waltz.

At the other end was a little dance floor roped off like a boxing ring—and just about as big—where an amazingly large crowd of boys and girls were dancing to the strains of a three-piece orchestra that tried to drown out the noise of the calliope.

Mary said suddenly, "I want an ice cream cone," and I bought two, feeling for some reason or other like a fool as I lapped mine.

I looked around at the crowd. The coming of this little carnival to the vacant lot at the corner of Ames and Fourth St. had been a gala event. Everybody was dressed for a festival, the older men in their good suits, the younger ones in brightly-colored sport shirts that gleamed under the lights, the girls and women making gay splashes of color everywhere we looked, and the kids racing wildly about with hot dogs, ice cream cones, pop, peanuts, popcorn, and those crisp, greasy, delicious waffles that are covered with powdered sugar and smell so wonderful.

But as we left the little carnival I saw a strange picture that stuck in my mind so that in thinking about the carnival, that picture is what I remember most:

As we walked up Ames St. in the gathering dusk, I looked back and saw the bright lights and colors of the ferris wheel and the booths and the people. The noise of the calliope and the dance orchestra drifted through the air in a weird mixture. Then another noise combined with them, grew louder, and drowned them out. One of the furnaces over in the steel plant had begun to roar as they pulled the blast.

And looking, I could see the dark bulk of the Open Hearth looming over the lights of the ferris wheel, the huge corrugated sheds of the plant dwarfing the carnival, making it small and pitiful. It was like seeing a butterfly on the track of an approaching locomotive.

Notes Of A Seamen

Fight For A 4-Hour Watch

By F. J. Lang

Seamen have long agitated for the four-watch system. The realization of this demand for reduced working hours in line with conditions enjoyed by shoreside workers is long overdue. Basic changes in wages and working conditions at sea have always followed belatedly improvements gained by the workers ashore.

The AFL Seafarers International Union and the Sailors Union of the Pacific are now pushing for the four-watch system as one of their main demands in current negotiations. The demand of the CIO Committee for Maritime Unity for a 40-hour work week also envisages the four-watch system.

* * *

The crew of a ship is divided into watches. They work around the clock, relieving each other at intervals depending upon the number of watches. Until 1936, maritime law did not provide for more than two watches for the deck gang on an American ship. This meant that half the crew worked a six-hour stretch, went below for six hours while the other half of the gang worked on deck, and then were called out again for another six hours of work. Under this system the seamen worked 12 hours a day, or an 84-hour week.

The 1934 maritime strike put an end to the two-watch system in the few deepwater outfits that still maintained it at that late date. It was not until 1938 that the two-watch system for deck hands was discontinued on the Great Lakes, under compulsion of the 1936 Merchant Marine Act.

Under present conditions, the three-watch system prevails. Each watch works a four-hour hitch, and is off for eight hours before being called out again. This cuts the work day to eight hours. But a ship at sea can't drop the anchor over week-ends. Consequently the work week for seamen is 56 hours necessary work without payment of overtime.

The demand for four watches would provide for three hours work on deck with nine hours below before being called out again. This would reduce the work week to 42 hours.

Although shoreside workers have long enjoyed the 40-hour week and in some instances have won the six-hour day or 30-hour week, the ship operators are now claiming that similar conditions for seamen are 'fantastic." The four-watch system, if granted, they say, would "ruin" the American Merchant marine.

* * *

The reason the operators are so adamantly opposed to the four-watch system is because it means a 25 per cent increase in the number of crew members required. For the same reason, seamen are now ready to fight for the four-watch system.

Four watches will not mean any more money in the individual seaman's pocket. That is why this demand has been coupled with the demand for a wage boost. But of the two, the four-watch system is the more important demand in the long run.

The four-watch system will take up some of the slack as the wave of unemployment mounts in the maritime industry. Already more than 2,000 merchantmen of the 5,000-ship wartime fleet have been laid-up. And only 1,000 ships are needed for peacetime operations. This means that four of every five seamen employed during the war will be looking for a job soon. Many of these are leaving the industry, but for those who will remain the four-watch system is an immediate answer to the problem of unemployment.

If the maritime unions win the four-watch system now it will insure them against the fate of the old International Seamen's Union which was smashed by the government in the 1921 strike, during the period of widespread unemployment that hit the maritime industry after World War I.

On The Railroads

'Next Time It'll Be Better'

By Henry Adams

"The railroad strike could have been worse," wrote one Minneapolis news correspondent, "if all the Brotherhoods were still united." With frankness, this capitalist spokesman goes on to point out how the disunity among the railroad union heads provided a welcome opportunity for the railroad bosses and the government to play one rail union group against another and prevent their coming together for a contract.

As proof of the fact that there is little "brotherhood love" among the railroad union top officials, W. H. Mylander in the May 26 **Minneapolis Tribune** cites a number of their sharpest conflicts—the struggle between Whitney of the Trainmen and Robertson of the Firemen for dominance in the Big Five operating unions; the jurisdictional conflicts between the Trainmen and both the Order of Railway Conductors and the Switchmen's Union; the raids of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen upon each other's unions.

The ranks of the railroad men are also saying that the recent rail strike could have been more effective. "We've got to get together if we want to win." In the shops, on the trains, at the terminals—wherever railroad men get together—they are talking about the need for united action by all railroad unions. The strike showed that it could be done.

In hundreds and thousands of instances, firemen not called on strike, climbed down from their cabs when supervisory employes appeared to take out trains—and the trains did not move out of the deserted stations. Switchmen in the yards refused to run beyond their yard limits. Attempts to recruit scabs in the roundhouses and shops were a dismal failure.

Of the nation's 17,500 passenger trains, only 100 moved; out of 24,000 freight trains, only 240 made a pretense of operating. Members of all crafts went to the strike meetings and offered their support and members of all crafts jeered Robertson's strikebreaking order to his union, the Firemen and Engineers, to "get on the job and get this transportation moving."

Sell-outs, craft division and jealousy, weak-kneed leadership are not new to the railroad workers, who have struggled for years within the narrow limits of the 21-union craft set-up. But the rigid organizational lines began to crack in this strike! In lodges which had not held a real active membership meeting in years, strike meetings were organized on a broad scale. Functioning strike committees were elected. A fresh, active local leadership began to emerge.

Only two out of the 21 railroad unions were called out on strike, and these were the Trainmen and Locomotive Engineers, of whom the shopmen were saying two months ago, "They'll never go out!" But the railroad workers tied up the country. They took the full force of the attacks of the billionaire railroad companies and their capitalist press. They defied the challenge that "You can't strike against the government"—and still the trains did not move. Not until their own leadership gave way under all of this pressure did they go back to work.

The men on the railroads agree with the Minneapolis correspondent—only they are saying it this way, "The railroad strike could have been better if all the Brotherhoods were united. Next time it will be better."

Incendiary Bombing Of Negro Widow's Home Perpetrated By Race Terrorists In Chicago

By Robert L. Birchman

(Special to The Militant)

CHICAGO, June 16—After a six weeks' conspiracy of silence by local authorities, the story of the incendiary bombing of Mrs. Grace Hardy's home on the night of May 2 has been exposed by Mike Bartell, Chicago organizer of the Socialist Workers Party.

Mrs. Hardy, a courageous Negro widow, purchased a house at 315 West Garfield Boulevard, just a few blocks out of the overcrowded Negro district on Chicago's South Side. This district is commonly called the "Black Ghetto," where the Negroes are confined by restrictive covenants.

Mrs. Hardy lived in her house with her two sons. She rented out the second story to two Negro tenants who met considerable hostility from many of their white neighbors. This and the fact that three nights after Mrs. Hardy moved into the house three white boys were seen flashing searchlights in her yard were the only warnings she received of the impending disaster.

BALL OF FIRE

On the night of May 2 at 9 p.m., as Mrs. Hardy was walking from the kitchen just after supper, she heard a crash and saw what appeared to be a ball of fire coming straight at her through the window. She lifted her arm to ward off the flaming object, which later was found to be an incendiary bomb.

Flaming gasoline was sprayed all over her body. Displaying great presence of mind, Mrs. Hardy wrapped herself in a comforter to smother the flames. One of her tenants extinguished the fire.

Mrs. Hardy stayed in the house, fearful of the assailants outside, until the Fire Department arrived. She then went to a nearby drug store where there were two teen-aged boys at whom a man shouted, "You crazy boys started the fire."

The fire chief stated that the bombing had been carefully planned!

The bomb virtually demolished the kitchen and pantry. Large holes were blasted in the ceilings and walls, which are burned and scorched. Although Mrs. Hardy was able to move out her furniture, the house has been entered on several occasions by vandals.

STILL IN HOSPITAL

Mrs. Hardy has been in the hospital since the night of the bombing. After more than six weeks, she is still swathed in bandages. Entire areas of her face, arms, chest and legs are burned and raw.

On the night of the bombing, Mrs. Hardy was questioned by four detectives at the Englewood Hospital. Since that time the police officials have ceased to investigate. They have made no attempt to apprehend and punish the criminals responsible for this monstrous race-hate crime.

The bombing of Mrs. Hardy's home is part of a pattern of threats and violence against Negro families striving to escape from the overcrowded areas of the "Black Ghetto." Mrs. Hardy is one of the courageous Negroes who are attempting to break down restrictive covenants.

Efforts have been made to force her to sell her property at a considerable financial loss. Since Mrs. Hardy's financial means are limited, unless she secures aid she will not be able to meet the payments on the property and it will be foreclosed.

The Crusader, militant champion of the rights of the Negro people published by the Negro Labor Relations League, has organized "The Grace Hardy Emergency Fund" to raise funds to aid her in holding on to her home. Contributions to the fund should be sent to **The Crusader,** 305 East 39th Street, Chicago 15, Illinois.

SWP STATEMENT

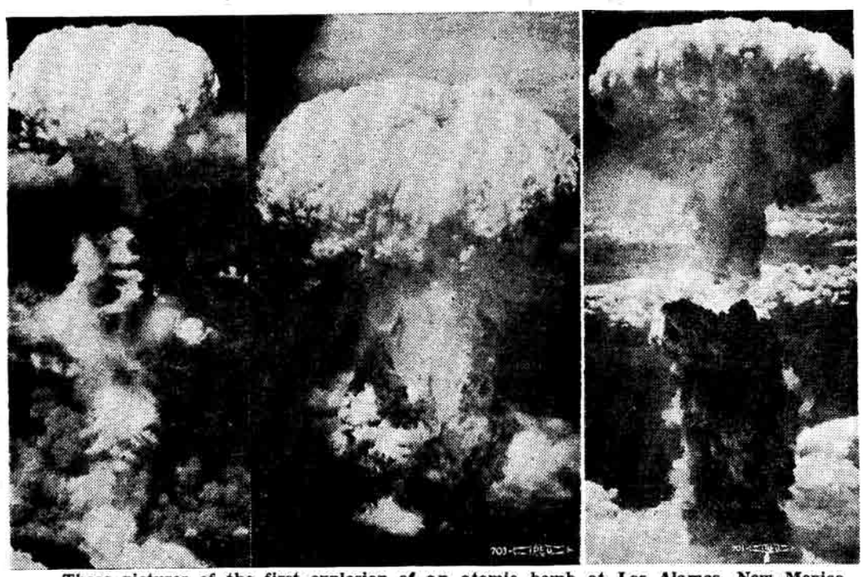
Mike Bartell, Chicago organizer of the Socialist Workers Party, who first brought the facts in the Hardy case to light issued the following statement in the name of the Socialist Workers Party:

"A real fight must be waged against these terrorists who attempted to destroy the life and home of Mrs. Grace Hardy. This fight is part of the struggle for decent housing for the Negroes of Chicago who are now penned up in a 'black ghetto.' It is also part of a fight against the Ku Klux Klan vigilantes who are raising their despicable heads throughout the United States. They have lynched Negroes and burned their homes in Fontana, California; in Columbia, Tennessee; Freeport, Long Island, and elsewhere.

"The cowardly hooligans who almost succeeded in burning Mrs. Hardy to death must be smashed. The right of Negroes to live in Mrs. Hardy's home must be maintained by the formation of defense guards by the organized labor movement of Chicago.

"The whole labor movement, the Negro organizations and all progressive organizations must form a united front to carry on this fight to a successful conclusion. To this fight the Socialist Workers Party pledges its unflagging support."

A Column Of Smoke Where Your City Once Stood?



These pictures of the first explosion of an atomic bomb at Los Alamos, New Mexico, have become symbols of the most frightful destruction yet achieved by capitalism. All the scientists and even the capitalist politicians themselves are agreed that mankind faces utter extinction if the development of the atomic bomb continues and humanity is plunged into a Third World War. Federated Press

Capitalists Lie About Peacetime Possibilities Of Atomic Energy

By John G. Wright

Among the arguments first employed to justify the military monopoly of atomic energy was the contention that it would take huge sums and many years before this epoch-making discovery could be developed for civilian uses.

The Brass Hats and the administration in Washington found this flimsy argument rather embarrassing in view of the fact that even the low-temperature atomic piles at Hanford were meanwhile producing as much energy as Boulder Dam, all this energy going to waste, heating up the Columbia River.

They were further embarrassed by public statements of scientists that in its present state this energy was already available for use as a source of power, heat and electricity, not to mention its urgent and immediate need for medicine, agriculture, scientific research, etc.

And so, after a delay of at least two years they have announced that a high-temperature atomic power plant will be built at Oak Ridge, Tenn. It will be purely "experimental", that is, remain under rigid military control. No information has been released about any of its technical aspects. But the campaign to belittle and discredit its potential benefits has already begun.

See Editorial "Atomic Control" Page 4

The favorite line of argument now runs that atomic power is of questionable value for industrial and civilian use, because after all, fuel comprises only a small fraction of the cost of operating electrical power plants. With a serious air a debate is now being conducted in public on whether or not atomic energy can compete successfully with coal or oil.

This debate is so important that the editors of **N. Y. Times** deem it necessary to add their authoritative voice to the side of the "doubters". "Transmission, distribution and administration costs are far greater than fuel costs . . . so that the saving in fuel will have to be striking if a uranium 'pile' is to take the place of coal." (**N. Y. Times,** May 12.)

VAST SAVINGS

As a matter of fact, this argument speaks not against but overwhelmingly in favor of atomic power plants. If fuel costs are not the decisive consideration, then the atomic "piles" can be far more expensive than the use of coal and oil or water power (which no one even bothers to pretend) and still compete with the present plants. Why? Because of the vast savings in transmission and distribution costs.

Atomic power plants can be erected close by industries and cities; they can be built anywhere, in the remotest region as well as the most accessible one, in the most densely populated areas as wel as those most sparsely populated. The costs of transmission and distribution can thereby be cut to the barest minimum, which is impossible with the existing plants.

As for the costs of "administration," the atomic plants are automatic and self-operating, requiring virtually no labor after once set up. And, what is far worse from the capitalist standpoint, they will cut out completely the annual tribute extracted by the huge public utility monopolies.

They will not only render existing facilities obsolete but also make it difficult to establish private ownership in this field. The capitalists can and should get exactly nothing from the development of atomic power. It follows that from the standpoint of "administration" the costs will once again be slashed to barest minimums.

Let us note in conclusion one other incredible argument which the editors of **N. Y. Times** employ in their zeal to place a big question mark over the future of atomic power. They claim that they have been "misled by the oft-quoted statement that a pound of uranium or plutonium will generate as much energy as we now get from 1,400 tons of coal or 900 tons of gasoline. The comparison assumes the complete conversion of uranium or plutonium into energy."

INCREDIBLE ARGUMENT

The comparison, as is well known, assumes nothing of the sort. It is based on the assumption of converting only a fraction of a pound of uranium into energy, less than 1 per cent. (The atomic bomb converts approximately one-thirtieth of an ounce of mass into energy.) A complete conversion of a pound of uranium would release approximately 100 times the quantity cited by the **Times'** editors, who only pretend to be misinformed.

According to the computation of the scientists they are able to release **at the present stage of development** only the maximium of 1 per cent conversion of the uranium mass into energy. Once again this is a powerful argument not against but in favor of atomic power. If such vast vistas are opened up when there is only one per cent at our disposal, they will be multiplied geometrically as mankind learns to use the major portion of the remaining 99 per cent. But the imperialist rulers of the world bar this road.

They cannot and will not employ atomic power for the benefit of mankind, but only for its destruction.

Girl Strikers In Akron Fight Vile Conditions

(Special to The Militant)

AKRON, O., June 7.—All is not milk and honey for the working people even here where more than one out of three residents belongs to a union. Fifty girls, working for the princely sum of 50 cents an hour at the Rome Products Company, manufacturers of plastic toys, have been locked out because they decided to join the union.

The girls are determined to "stick it out on the picket line until we get our jobs back and union recognition," they say. They have inspired unionists from Goodrich, Firestone and other CIO rubber workers locals to help. The 24-hour-a-day picket line has the plant shut down tight as a drum.

A story reminiscent of the sweat-shop days of 50 years ago was told to **The Militant** reporter by the girls. "The place is filled with rubbish left over by the former occupants of the building who made mattresses. The stuffing is flying around in the air all the time."

"The rest room is filthy and I hate to go in there," said one of the girls, "and besides they took away our rest period." The boss is guilty of several violations of the law which is supposed to ensure healthy working conditions. The girls also described the vicious speed-up.

A marine veteran who had lost his eyesight in the war was working for 55 cents an hour operating drill presses. When the boss tried to get him to work on three different machines, the veteran complained and was laid off. Another blind veteran was hired to replace him at 5 cents an hour less.

The company made a crude effort to divide the girls by offering to re-hire all but four "ringleaders." This failed when the girls, inspired by the help they were receiving from many unionists, decided to stick together to the end.

Wall Street's Atomic Control Maintained By Baruch 'Plan'

(Continued from Page 1)

tures the report as an attempt to outlaw the use of atomic energy as a weapon of war. This is nothing but deceit.

First of all, by placing control of atomic energy in the UN, Wall Street would give up nothing. Wall Street dominates the UN in the same way that Great Britain dominated the League of Nations after World War I. The UN would act as a pliable instrument in the hands of American imperialism.

But even before setting up this dummy control, Washington insists on major concessions that would above all affect the Soviet Union. The UN Atomic Energy Commission would have the right to enter any country, examine its factories, hire and fire employes, including top personnel and scientists.

The Atomic Energy Commission would have sole authority to determine what type of atomic energy development would constitute a danger. The Commission could thus decide that a given project say in the Soviet Union would be dangerous, while another in the United States or Great Britain would not be dangerous.

The UN member nations would have to give up their right to veto the decisions of this Wall Street-Controlled Commission. Thus in the field of atomic energy, which in a few short years can be developed to replace all present forms of energy, Wall Street would exercise dictatorial control.

In return for these concessions in national sovereignty, the old war-monger Baruch promises that eventually Washington would divulge the secrets of manufacturing atomic energy. The secret would not be divulged at one sweep, but in stages.

Moreover, the right to set the time of revealing these secrets rests solely with Wall Street.

Clearly the Baruch recommendations to the UN offer absolutely nothing. They simply make demands. Baruch simply reiterated the stand taken by Wall Street since the first great public alarm over the danger of atomic energy in irresponsible hands. It is the same stand enunciated in the Acheson-Lilienthal report of March 28.

The aim of the Baruch report is self-evident. It is designed to throw the blame for the further steps toward World War III squarely on the Soviet Union. If Stalin finds he cannot make the demanded concessions, then Wall Street hopes to center public anger on the Soviet Union.

The whole fraud of Baruch's report is exposed by one simple fact: Despite all the propaganda about outlawing the atomic bomb, Washington continues manufacture of atomic bombs, 24 hours a day and at a constantly accelerated rate. These bombs are being stored for use in the Third World War which Wall Street views as absolutely inevitable.

H & M Strikers Ignore Truman's "Fact-Finding"

(Special to The Militant)

NEW YORK, June 14.—Some 700 members of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen and Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers are holding firm in their strike, now in its 16th day, against the Hudson and Manhattan railroad. The line, which provides commuter service between New York City and New Jersey, has refused to grant the 18½ cents an hour increase included in the settlement of the recent national railroad strike.

Last week, in the first such action by any union, the H & M union lodges boycotted hearings called by a special "fact-finding" committee set up by Truman to "investigate" the strike. Truman has refused to take any action against the company, although it is in flagrant defiance of the wage recommendations of the government itself.

International officials of both striking unions are supporting the stand of the local officials against giving any recognition to the phony "fact-finding" procedure. Matthew O'Leary, H & M chairman of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, refusing to testify before the "fact-finding" body, said: "This dispute was settled in Washington on May 25 by the award of 18½ cents recommended by President Truman."

At the one-sided "fact-finding" hearings here, company officials and government agents held a friendly get-together. The company asked for a 10 per cent fare increase before it grants a wage increase. This, it admitted, would provide an additional annual revenue of $718,000, although the company itself previously claimed that the wage increase would amount only to $600,000.

Expressing the determination of the strikers to fight to victory, William E. Skutt, H & M chairman of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, said on Tuesday: "It's beginning to look like an endurance contest. The union is digging in for a long Summer, and we're well equipped to do so."